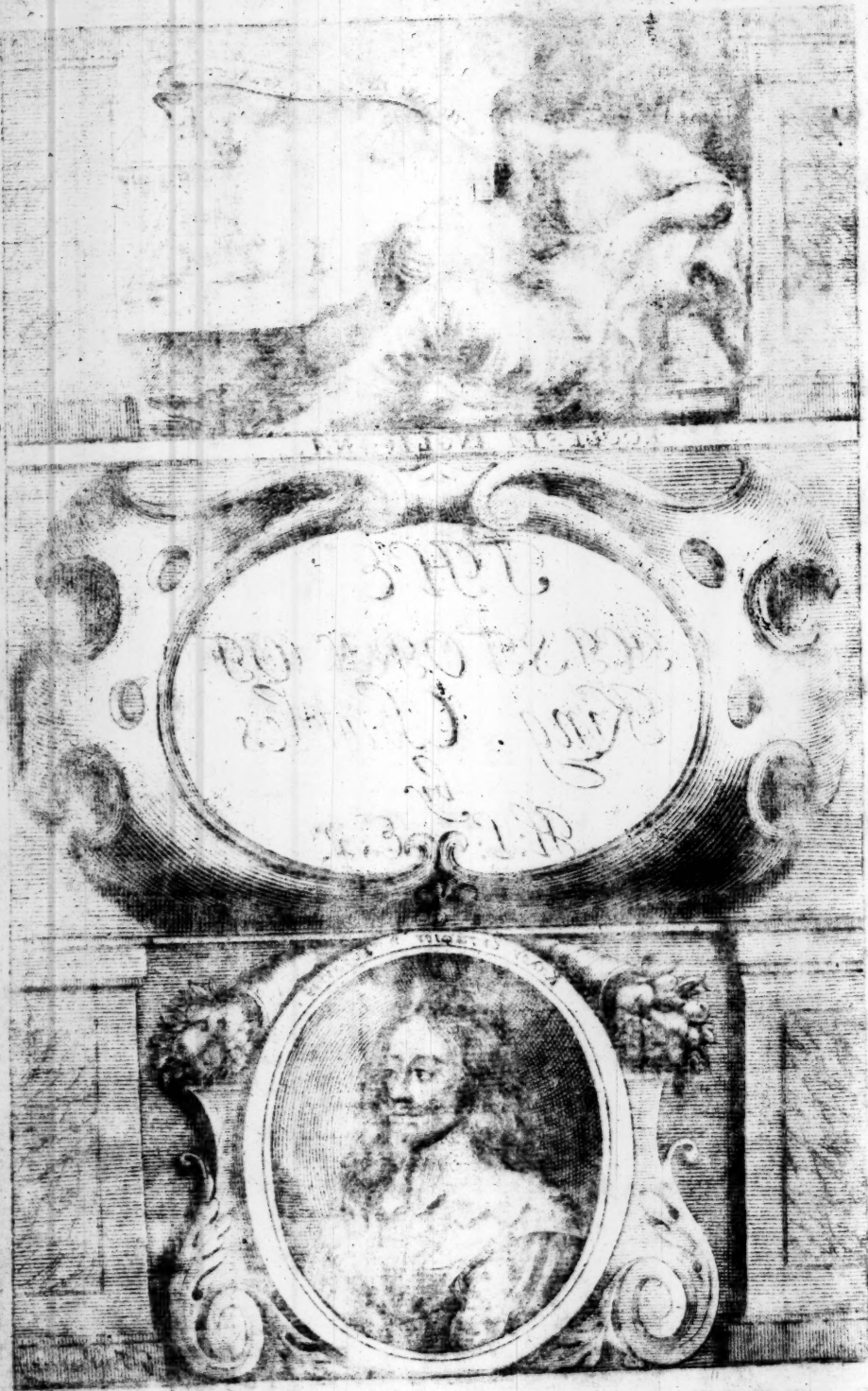




ECCLESIA ANGLICANA.

THE
HISTORY OF
King Charles
by
H. L. Esq.





THE
REIGN
OF
King CHARLES.
AN HISTORY.
Disposed into ANNALS.

The second Edition revised, and somewhat enlarged.

WITH
A REPLY TO SOME LATE
OBSERVATIONS
upon that HISTORY;

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

AND AT THE END OF ALL,
The OBSERVATORS Rejoynder.



LONDON,
Printed by F. L. and J. G. for HEN: SMITH, Senior and
Junior, over against St. Dunstons Church in Fleet Street,
and EDW: DOD, at the Gun in Ivy-lane, 1656.

REIGN OF King CHARLES. AN HISTORY.

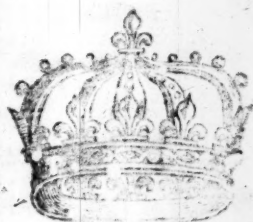
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LONDON,
 Printed by A. A. and T. G. for H. N. 211. 2. Senior and
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 and H. N. D. at the Gun in Ivy-lane, 1676.

THE PREFACE.

WHat oblique Descants will come traverse upon this honest Narrative, I already prejudicate; The fate of those who write of *Times* within ken, *Times* better for the *History* then for the *Historian*; for while they render *Truth* more *resplendent*, they usually bring the *Relator* under a cloud. Whence the bane of all faithfull *Tradition*, that an *Historian* is rarely found, untill the *Truth* be lost. And what is *History* without its *Idioms*, *Truth*, but a meer *Romance*? And if so, what Pen will undertake the *History* of a *King*. Kings in their *Functions*, so neer resemble the *Divine Nature*, as *God* himselfe hath stiled them *Gods*. And as in many respects they represent it, so also in that of *Cyprian*, though not in his sense, *De Deo etiam periculosum est dicere verum*. Though as *Men* they are within the incidence of frailty, (for as that *Emperour* said, *Imperium non tollit affectus*, *Soveraignty* doth not proscribe *humane affections*) yet their very failings have been in former times accounted, like their *Persons*, so sacred, that to touch them, though never so tenderly, hath been esteemed *Petty-Treason*. But in *King Charles* (the grand concernment of these *Annals*) the *Danger* is counterchanged, to

Epist.

Antoninus Pius
apud Ful. Capitolinum.

The Preface.

exhibit in him any thing of merit, or importing lesse then a *Nero* or *Domitian*, many will not endure. And these two extremes make my passage through this History like that of *Jonathans* to the *Philistins*, *A sharpe rock on the one side, and a sharpe rock on the other side.* Which consideration hath moved me to decline many things, otherwayes remarkable, and not commonly known, and to content my self with *saving truths*. Nor should I have adventured to have interposed a modest vindication of this *King* in some particulars, not reflecting upon the fatall proceedings against him, had not the ingenuity of some eminently disaffected to him, led me the way.

But if in relation to these perils, I am studious to bear my self erect, yet in other concernments, some will censure me for too strong a Bias.

Some will say I seeme no friend to the *Clergy*; and lest my silence should make this an *Accusation*, which is but a meer *calumny*; I answer, Church-men I honour, (no man more) and this I doe for their Sacred *Orders* sake. But if their Order be Sacred, it doth not (I wish it did) make all such who are initiated in that Order; too many of that holy profession are, ever were, and will be *Sacred* in another and worse sense. The un-sanctified lives of some Officiating at the Sacred

The Preface.

Sacred *Altar*, have been the complaint of all ages. Read we not to their shame of the *Sons of Ely*, whose impiety made men *abhorre the offerings of the Lord*? Doth not *Chrysostome* tell us of some his contemporaries, who (had Canonical Discipline been punctually observed) should not have been permitted, so much as to step over the threshold of Gods house, were notwithstanding advanced to the highest grison of Church Dignities? And if this Narrative presents some Ecclesiasticks to blame, the inference is fallacious, that therefore our times are worse then former, or that the accrimination overspreadeth all. No, what *St. Augustine* said upon the like occasion of some enormities of his time, is no lesse true of ours, That though our Church had cause to grieve for the blemishes of some, yet might she glory in the Ornaments of more. So few being then concerned in the tittle which may distast, their disgust will be easier digested, especially considering that it can be nothing else but necessary truth which offends them, and so it must if I, or any other, will doe the devoir of an Historian. For Truth to be Parent of ill-will is no novelty, no not where no ill-will is the Parent of that Truth, as in this work of mine; for of those whom it will have the unhappinesse to displease, not a single unite can challenge me for any personall ma-

1 Sam. 2. 17.

Ἄνθρωποι
οὗ ἔμελλεν μὴ
ἵ τὸν ἱερεὺς
τῆς Ἐκκλη-
σίας ὑπεβα-
νῆν ἐχθρὸν ὡς
τὸ πᾶν, καὶ
εἰς τὴν ἱερε-
τικὴν ἀνα-
βαίωσιν ἀξι-
ωθ. Chrys. de
Sacerdot. l. 3.

Et si contri-
stamur de a-
liquis
purgamen-
tis, tamen
consohamur
de pluribus
ornamentis.
Aug. Epist.
137.

The Preface.

lice against him; or justly say, I have made *History* doe the drudgery of my owne despight.

Nor perhaps will the *Presbyterians* esteem me altogether well affected to them. A crime the lesse, because almost epidemicall and contracted from their so principally occasioning our late sad distractions, yet have I so much charity for them, as heartily to wish they may read their errour in their punishment. For they who were so instrumentall towards the ruine of their *Superiour Order*, have lived to feel the reverberation of divine indignation by a configuration of chastisement upon their owne *Calling*. So even and equall a decorum doth the wisdom of God observe in the Oeconomy, and dispensation of his judgement.

Nor will all objections reflect upon my inclination, some will also upon my Narrative, and fault its *Orthography*, which consists in the true representation, not of *Words*, but *Things*. I have constantly conversed in the vale of rural recesses, farre from the Court (the prospect and vantage ground of observation) and upon that very account, this poor infant, even before it can speak, before it comes to the birth of edition, while it is yet in the womb of the Presse, is already by some *reprobated* for errors *foreseen*. The best is, this Objection was not earlier contrived, then my Answer framed. Ocular observation of the Author is not absolutely

The Preface.

absolutely necessary to the credibility of a story; for that were all at once, not to eclipse, but totally to extinguish the light of all Histories (Sacred onely excepted) whatsoever, the greatest part whereof were *Postscript* an age at least to the things recorded: and they who wrote the memorials of their owne times, as *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Herodian* and others, who are the most accurate Reporters, ingenuously confesse, they as well derive some things *ex alio*, upon trust from others, as other things they deliver upon their own credit. Nor must they pass for undeniable Truths, what some report they have seen and heard: such affirmations, though never so confident, are not credentiall enough, no small superfeudas to further inquiry, unlesse the Author hath first obtained from Fame a faire Testimoniall of his good abearing: The *Life of the Historian*, being the *Life of the History*, in truth, the most proper Preface to it, and which ought to be read first, nor is that noble argument to be treated by every vain, venale and mercenary fellow, but by a person of Honour, & generous habits. To speak therefore *ad idem*, close, and pertinent to mine own vindication, to satisfie the impertinent curiosity of these enquirers, I shall descend to these overtures. As to what things are matters of Record, I confesse I have not consulted the very originalls, but have con-
formed

The Preface.

formed to Copies, but of so neer extraction, as they are but once removed from the fountain it self. In other affaires, my information hath constantly resulted from Persons, not only present, but eminently, and some in Chief commanding in the actions, or principal instruments in the Transactions. And as the greatest part of this information did flow from one single hand, so (for the credit of my labour) may I give this account of him, that he had as certain and as full intelligence of all emergencies both forrain and domestique, as any one in this Nation: and as he was too judicious to receive, so was he too honest to transmit a vain report; whereby, confident I am, I stand secure against any substantial falshoods, and I hope against circumstantial also, especially in point of *Temporalities*, in assigning all both *Things* and *Actions* their proper times, no one of which, I will be bold to say, is so in these Annals mis-laid, as to super-annuate, and not many to vary from the very day of their prime existence. But if I be detected to have mis-reported any thing, light the errour where it will, my solace tis, *Nemo Historicus non aliquod mentitus, & habiturus sum mendaciorum comites, quos Historica eloquentia miramur Authores*; the best *Historiographers* have done the like. And as I had in this work no design beyond Truth, so he that can form a truer Relation, let him.

Flavius Vopiscus.

THE

THE
REIGN
OF
King CHARLES.

King Charles was born November the 19th Anno Dom. 1600. at Dunfermling in Scotland; not next in call to the Diadem: But the hand of God countermanded Natures dispose, and by taking away Henry his incomparable Brother, presented Charles, not onely the succeeding, but the onely male-prop of Sovereignty. The gallantry of Henry's heroique spirit tended somewhat to the disadvantage and extenuation of Charles his glory; who arriving at his years, and wanting nothing of his Princely institution, came yet short of him in the acquit of reputation with the People. Henry of a forward, and enterprising; Charles of a studious, and retired spirit: whereof the blame may, in part, be imputed to some organical impotences in his body. For, in his state of increment and growth, he was exceeding feeble in his lower parts, his legs growing not erect, but repandous and embowed, whereby he was unapt for exercises of activity. Again, he was none of the gracestullest Orators; for his words came difficultly from him, which rendred him indisposed to speak much. But in the flux of time, and when he began to look man in the face, those tender limbs began so to consolidate and knit together, as the most eminently famed for exercises of honour, were forced to yield him up the

Charles his
Reign.

His journey
into Spain.

garland. And though his vocal impediment accompanied him till the fatal stroke, yet was it to wise men an index of his wisdom: therefore *Obloquy* never plaid the fool so much, as in imputing folly to him, since there was never, or very rarely, known a fool that stammered. And for his Intellectuals, he gave in the Spanish Court (where was his first initiation into renown) a very satisfactory Account.

His design thither (it's well known) was to seek a service, and make address unto the Lady *Infanta*, in the quality of a Wooer; a business which had complicated with the hopes, that under the conduct, and into the bargain of that March, his Brother (the *Palgrave*) should be postlimineted and restored to his inheritance of the *Palatinate*, (then detained from him by the Emperor and Duke of *Bavaria*) and Count *Gondamore* the Spanish Ambassador had partly promised as much. His reception into the Spanish Court, was with all possible ceremonies of honour, and specious compliments; but he had rather have seen good faith in *overtures*, than falsehood in the mantlings of those fair respects. For the crafty Spaniard would not admit the restitution of the *Palatinate* into the fabrick of the Capitulation, no not by way of Parenthesis, but said it should be as a reserve of gratuity to conferre upon the King of *Great Brittain* after the Nuptials consummated. And besides, he spun out and protracted the procedure of the affair to a length, tedious to the Prince, and (as it happened) destructive to the whole design. For the transaction being compleated to the very signing of the Articles on both parts, and the obtaining a Dispensation from his Holiness, and all things fit for Contract and Espousals, in the very nick of time (a strange traverse of Providence) dies Pope *Gregory*, whose death put all to a stand; for his Dispensation being now as null as himself, a necessity there was of soliciting Pope *Urban* for another, which negotiated to the best improvement of expedition, could not be obtained on the suddain. And (as if the rescue had been by conspiracy) at that very time Dispatches came from King *James*, to summon the Prince speedily home; who, glad of the occasion, communicates to *Philip* his Fathers call; and pressed the necessity of his obedience so close, as his Catholick Majesty could not in civility deny him. Matters being in this wavering posture, the lazy Spaniard seemingly bestirs him; and importunately moves on the other side; that, since he might not disoblige his Highness from obeying his Fathers Order, and that this unhappy *remora* could onely amount to the loss of some few days; and seeing there remained still the same inclination of alliance on both parts, according to the tenour of the Articles,

The Reign of King Charles.

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Articles, he would be pleased to assign in his absence some Proxy to contract with the *Infanta*, after a new Dispensation had from *Rome*. To whom the Prince returned answer: That he would empower the Earl of *Bristol* to give his Majesty all satisfaction in that particular; which accordingly he did. Nothing was now left to impede his Highness return, but to ceremoniate his dismissal agreeable to his reception. And (whatever the linings were) certain it is, there was such a fair outside of love, such a seeming serenity of affairs, such dear *Accollado's* interchanged between *Philip* and his Highness, at their valediction and parting, as eye scarce ever beheld the like. There goes a report that the *Spaniard* had a design to have staid him, but that he outstript the Post; which I leave, as I find it, dubious. But certain it is, the Prince began to nauseate to loath the Treaty, and he had reason all-sufficient so to do, having lately discovered, that the *Spaniard* had in his primitive and succeeding intentions, no other design, than Treaty: not a Treaty, in order to a Match, but speciously pretended, to train on the hopes of an easie King, untill the *Austrian* Party had made sure of the *Palatinate*, as King *Philip's* Letter to *Olivares*, and by him shewed to the Prince, imported. Nor of other signification was it, what the Bishop of *Legovia* told the Duke, That it was not safe for the King of *Spain* to send his Sister into *England*, where a Toleration would breed a Rebellion. Add to these, the last of refuges that the *Infanta* should betake her self to the house of *Discalceats*, or the Monastery of bare-footed Nuns. Upon these considerations, no sooner was he aboard the Vessel of his Reduktion, but he dispatched a clandestine Agent to the Earl of *Bristol*, with an express Order, not to yield up his Proxie, till further instructed from *England*. And so he hoisted up sail for his beloved *Ithaca*, and home; upon whose prosperous arrival, being *Octob. the 5.* the Kingdome fell into so general a conflagration with bone-fires, as if the people had meant to make an holocaust of it, such an universall and epidemical joy there was, not onely that *Charles* was returned safe, but that also without his lading. In truth they were so co-incident, as the loyal-hearted *English* could not distinguish between the *Spanish Match*, and *Charles* his ruine. Upon his first access to his Fathers Court, after many dear and cordial welcomes, he represented to his Majesty the state of his Negotiation, who perceiving upon the whole sum, that the *lie Spaniard* practised to make an after-game of the *Palatinate*; and observing a general disgust in the whole Kingdome, by advice of his Privie-Council, dispatcheth Letters to the Earl of *Bristol*, enjoining him positively to demand restitution of the *Palatinate*, and that till he had absolute satisfaction therein, the Proxie should not be delivered, nor any further progresse made.

An. Christi
1625:

An. Christi
1625.

Overtures of
the French
Alliance.

made in the Treaty. This unexpected Proposal put his Catholick Majesty into such a dazzling demur, as it was no difficult matter to presage a final rupture would ensue, which happened by the sollicitation of the Parliament, *March 24. 1623.* The estimation his Highness got in this Expedition, of a solid and serious Prince, was more then could be expected from his puiſne years of 23.

Nor was this the onely service that Adventure did him; it gave him also a transitory view of that excellent Lady, whom the Supreme Moderator of all things had preserved for him. For *Paris* being obvious to him, and in his way to *Spain*, he delaid there one day, where Fortune entertained him with a sight of the Princess *Henretta Maria* at a Court-Masque; this view he stole undiscovered, through the benefit of a false hair: I will not say this casualty was causal to the first design of soliciting that Alliance; yet possible it is, that first ocular acquaintance with her person, might create something of affection in him beyond neutrality; what occasion it was first started that Treaty, I know not, but for certain there was never such an harmony of universall votes in any affair of that quality, between the two Crowns, as in this. For King *James* recommending it to the consideration of his Privie Council, they extol both the Relation; and accommodations of the match, assuring his Majesty the Project would take passing well in an Assembly of the three Estates, whose Convention his Majesty having before meditated, in order to the recovery of the *Palatinate*, he now falls upon resolution, and issueth Summons for the Parliament to assemble: which being met, and the business propounded, it was entertained with an unanimous consent, and a motion made, that an Ambassador should be sent over to negotiate the Treaty. The King finding the Parliament so great Zelots in this Design, he presently dispatcheth the Earl of *Holland* into *France*, to feel the Pulse of that King. Who, being a commodious and proper Instrument for such an employment, speedily imbarques for *France*: Where, upon the prime Overture of his Design at the French Court, he found so ready and fluent an inclination in *K. Lewis*, as he was able to divine the issue, before Capitulation; whereof he early transmitted advertisement to his Master, who, upon notice of it (for the greater honour of the correspondence, and to express the exuberancy of his devotion to the Match) superinducted the Earl of *Carlisle*, as an additional Ambassador to the Earl of *Holland*. And from *France*, *Lewes* (who disdained to be wanting in any dues of compliment) dispatcheth the *Marqueſſe D'Effair* for *England*. These noble Instruments of State, ply'd their Instructions with that diligence and fidelity, as the accord was fully formed, *Novem. the 10. 1624.* and Articles

The Reign of King Charles.

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cies signed on both sides, so as *France* and *England* seemed now as one Continent, and all of a piece. True it is, there wanted a Dispensation from the Bishop of *Rome*, whereof his Majesty of *France* was then in pursuit.

But in the interim of that delay, King *James* (as if the consummation of that Match had been his *consummatum est*) brake up his ruinous house of *Clay*, surrendring up at *Theobalds* his soul to God, and his three Kingdoms to his Son, *March 27. 1625.*

It will not be amiss, nor vary from the usuall Ceremony ordained to the bodies of extinct Princes, if I here represent in brief the Pourtraiture of this famous Monarch, which I will do freely, sincerely, and with a Spirit which equally disdains to libel, or to flatter him.

In the style of the Court, he went for *Great Britain's Solomon*; nor is it any excursion beyond the precincts of Verity, to say, that neither *Britain*, nor any other Kingdome whatsoever, could ever, since *Solomon's* daies, glory in a King, (for recondite Learning, and abstruse Knowledge) so near a match to *Solomon*, as He. And though he was an universal Scholar, yet did he make other Sciences (their most proper imployment) but *Druides*, and *Servitors to Divinity*, wherein he became so transcendently eminent; as he notoriously foyle'd the greatest Clerks of the *Roman Sec.* Nor did his Theological abilities more advantage the cause of Religion abroad, then at home, they keeping the new-fangled Clergy aloof, and at distance, as not daring to intuse into so solid a judgement, their upstart and erroneous fancies; nor nor disquiet the Churches peace with hererodox Opinions. A stout Adversary he was to the *Arminians*, and *Semi-Pelagians*, whom he call'd, as *Prosper* before him, the enemies of Gods grace. And as slender a friend to the *Presbytery*, of whose tyrannical and Anti-monarchical Principles, he had had from his Cradle smart experience. He was an excellent speaker, the scheme of his Oratory being more stately, then pedantique, and the expressions argu'd him both a King and Scholar. In his Apparel and civil garb, he seemed naturally to affect a majestique carelessness, which was so hecique, so habitual in him, as even in religious exercises, where the extern demeanour is a grand part of that sacred homage, he was somewhat too incurious and irreverent. He was indulgent a little to his Palat, and had a smack of the Epicure. In pecuniary dispensations to his Favourites he was excessive liberal; yea, though the exigence of his own wants pleaded retention. Nor was *Solomon* himself more a *Solomon*, according to the true Notion of the Word, which imports, a man of Rest, then he; selecting for his Motto, *Beati Pacis*, for the *Seventh Beatitude*, as most agreeable to his Genius and

Natural

An. Christi,
1625.

King *James*
his death.
An. Christi,
1625.

His Character.

*orig. hand
doubt. bound*

An. Christi,
1625.

Natural Inclination. He was studious of Peace, somewhat overmuch for a King; in pursuit whereof, virtue flew to a lessening, and (in the opinion of many) out of sight; he incurring thereby the note of *Puillanimity*, very suspicious from his managing the cause of the *Pallatinate*; for had not the thought of War been terrible to him, would he so long have endured his Son in Law exterminated from his Patrimony, while the *Austrian Faction* (to his great dishonour) *cajol'd* and kept him in delusory chat, with specious fallacies? Would he in those several Negotiations of *Carlile*, *Bristow*, *Belfast*, and *Weston*, have spent so vast sums, the moiety whereof, had they been disposed in Military Levies, would have modelled an Army able (when *Heidelburgh*, *Manheim*, and *Frankendale* defended themselves) to have totally dissipated all the Forces of the Usurpers, to have mastered the imperious Eagle, enforcing her to forgo her quarry, and re-estated the *Paltzgrave*? Would he so recklessly have courted the Alliance of *Spain*, to the very great regret of his subjects, whom his Predecessor had so oftner baffled, and whom *England* ever found a worse friend, then Enemy? What stronger evidence can be given in of a wonderful defect of courage? As this faint-heartedness lost him the reputation and respects of his People, so his heave Pressures upon them, and undue Levies, by Privie-Seals, and the like, alienated their Affections, especially considering how those moneys were mis-employed, indeed, rather then thrown away, partly, in the two dishonourable Treaties of *Spain* and *Germany*, and the consequential Entertainments; and, partly, in largesses upon his Minion *Buckingham*. Between this disaffection and contempt in his People, there was generated a general disposition to turbulent & boystrous darings, and expostulations, even against his Darling-Prerogative; And though those dismal Calamities which befell his Son, were doubtless amplified by a superferation of causes; yet was their first and main existency derivative from those recited grounds: Let Court-pens extol the calmnesse of his Halcyonian Reign, with all artifice of Rhetorique. Let them conclude the Parallel, and tell us, *God gave King James*, also, as he did *Solomon*, *rest from all his Enemies round about*. Yet can they never truly deny, but that admired *Serenity* had its set in a Cloud, and that he left to his Successor a Crown of Thorns, as being engaged to contend with two puissant Enemies; First, the mighty Monarch of the West, the King of *Spain*: Secondly, the more invincible of the two, an Empty Purse: For that King who hath this Enemy to encounter, shall never atchieve any thing of glorious Production.

Charles proclaimed King.

The death of this famous Monarch, caused no other *Interregnum* then of Joy, his Son *Charles*, being immediatly by Sir *Edward*

The Reign of King Charles.

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ward Zouch (then Knight-Marshall) proclaimed at the Court gate, *King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland*. His first Act of Regality was, to dispatch *Aviso's* of his Fathers decease, to foreign Princes and States, his Correspondents, with whom he was in Amity. Next, he took into care, the becoming Obsequies of the Royal Corps: which^t removed from *Theobalds* to *Denmark* house in *London*, *April* the 23. was thence, the 7. of *May*, conveyed to *Westminster*, and there in-hum'd, with the greatest Solemnities, and most stately Ritualities could be devised.

Though grief had taken up the principal Lodgings of King *Charles* his heart, yet did it not quite turn love out of doors, but he had still an eye to *France*, and held himself concern'd, to let his Agents know, he was mindful of the stock he had going there: and to rear a firm assurance of his serious intentions, He sent over Letters of Procuration for the Duke of *Chevereux*, to espouse the Lady *Henrietta Maria*; onely he added this especial pre-caution, That those Letters should not be resigned up untill *May* the 8. when the Celebrities of his Fathers Funerall would be over; for he would not, that Grief and Joy (things incompatible) should jumble. But these Instructions) for what cause, I know not) were not in all points precisely observed; for on *May* the 11. as others; and the first, as we compute, 6. dayes before King *James* his Obsequies, the Esponsals were solemnized in the Church of *Nostre-Dame* at *Paris*; the Queen being given by her two Brothers, the King and *Monseigneur*. The Nuptials past, the Royal Bride prepared for *England*; and to wait upon her with the greater splendor, His Majesty dispatcheth over the Duke of *Buckingham*, with the Earl of *Montgomery*, and other Persons of quality. *May* the 24. they arrived at *Paris*, and *June* the 2. the Queen (after the iteration of most affectionate adieus, reciprocated and interchanged between the King and her self, set forward for *Amiens*; where, being attended with a most Princely Retinue, she was under the restraint of a magnificent entertainment, till the 16. of that moneth; thence, she dislodged for *Bulloign*, where she was to imbarque for *England*, (the Contagion then being much at *Calais*) there she found ready to receive her, one and twenty tall Ships sent from her Dearest, with a gallant Convoy of the Dutchels of *Buckingham*, and other Ladies of Honour and Eminence, to serve her, *June* 22. she set sail for *England*, and landed safe at *Dover*, after a turbulent and tempestuous passage. His Majesty lay that night at *Canterbury*, and next morning, with joy incredible, greeted his Royal Consort, and conducted her to *Canterbury*, where the Marriage was finally compleated; the Duke of *Chevereux*, His Majesties former Representative, consigning up his precious charge to the King.

French Alliance concluded.

From

An. Christi
1625.

A Reflex up-
on the Pesti-
lence;

And upon the
Alliance.

From *Canterbury* both their Majesties took Coach for *White-hall*, where the third day after their arrival, presenting themselves in their Thrones, before the Nobles of the Realm, their Marriage was declared with most harmonious rejoycings. But *Kings*, though Paramount in some concernments, yet in the tenure of Earthly enjoyments, are inter-Commoners with others; their Felicities can plead no Charter of Priviledge, but are incident to like Turns, Contingencies, and Retirements, with those of the Common-man. And these Exultations were rather great, than long: for *London* being then visited and empest with a fierce and furious Contagion, it began to enlarge its quarters so far, as at length it seized even *White-hall* it self, which necessitated the King and *Queen* to remove to *Hampton-Court*.

It doth, I know, render King *Charles* obnoxious to untoward and sinister descants, that he commenced his Reign with so inauspicious an Omen, as that prodigious Pestilence; yet, setting aside that mortality had now taken forth a larger Commission, what can be imputed more to him, then that he did Patrizize? Would the Suggestors of that oblique Construction, search counter, little more then a score of years; they might learn, that King *James* (who enjoyed the longest term of Peace of any *British* King since the Conquest) initiated his Government with, and under, the same Calamity. Nay, it is further remarkable, that these two Plagues, that of the Father, this of the Son, were Natives both of one Parish (*White-Chappel*) yea under the same Roof, and issued forth on the same day of the moneth; such correspondence was there in their Entrance, who were so diversify'd in their Exits.

To the former Paragraph, and short Discourse upon the grand Infection, give me leave to adde another, (and both within Historical Toleration) by way of Speculation upon the *French Alliance*.

I have heard some, who undertake to mate all events with their proper causes, passionately ascribe *Englands* calamities to those internuptials; and fetch that irefull stroke of divine Justice upon his late Majesty, from his marrying a Lady of misbelief.

Grant I do, that both *Englands*, and his Majesties sufferings, may (in some sort) be reductive to the causality of that Match: but that there was any intrinsique noxiousnesse in it, either as *French*, or *Papist*, I am not yet convinced. As *French*, it could not morally operate any thing considerably destructive to us, in regard our correspondence and commerce with that Nation, was rarely lesse, then during that Alliance. Again, certain it is, and I have partly proved it before, that the self-same spirit of Contest (the main cause of our divisions) between Regal-Pre-rogative

The Reign of King Charles

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rogative and popular Liberty (I had almost said Licentiousness) was emergent long before that Marriage. Nor dare I affix direct and absolute culpability to it, upon such bare account of its being *Papistical*; which I can more easily dislike, then justly blame. It is I know, with much confidence urged what St. Paul interdicted the *Communions* to be *unequally yoked*. But that prohibition, being determined explicitly to Infidels, and persons of another Religion, is improperly apply'd to Papists, who hold the same Fundamentals (the Creed Apostolical) with us, and are in truth of the same Religion; Christian, with us; to thousands of whom we dare not think the advenue's of eternal blessedness precluded: for though there be many Errors in the Church of Rome, which will not admit of Reconciliation; yet are there many thousand members thereof, whose incuriosity, contented with ordinary and saving Truths, neglect the acquaintance of those noxious mysteries, and are in the safest plight, by reason of their plain and simple belief. It cannot be denied, but unity and individuation of persuasion in all points of sacred truths, were to be wished between married couples; yet notwithstanding, it is not of such absolute necessity to Matrimonial Bonds, but (where other accommodations of congruity respond not) we are probably indulged the choice of one of dissenting beliefs. And this was, at this time, King Charles his Case; for such was the paucity of Protestant Princes, as the whole Tribe of Reformation was not able to furnish and supply him with one single Match of agreeable Birth and Fortune. But be the sinne as great, as malice itself can wish it; yet can it not be truly said his, who, though he was most concern'd, was least conversant in the transaction of the business. For, as I have already manifested, (before he came to the Crown, the Affair had clearly proceeded beyond an honourable Retreat, being not onely commenced, but fully and finally made up by his Father, with the unanim vote of Parliament. So that, to the obligation of his filial obedience, there was superinducted a decent complacence with the 3. Estates; the Principality of the Crime (if a Crime it must be) being theirs, theirs was also the greater condignity of the Block. But Divine vengeance issuing out, no signal attachment against them, convinceth this sole suggestion of ill contrivance, since nothing is more preposterous, then to punish the Accessary, and discharge the prime Offender.

The same time, while his Majesty was thus busied in his amorous negotiation abroad, he ply'd as well his interest at home; and while he wooed his Royal Mistress there, he made love to his people here, by summoning a Parliament: That League being not more important to him as Man, then this as King; for as Man is without a Female Comfort, so is a King without his

As Christi,
1635.

moda hñA
bold

Ceteram tur-
bam credendi
simplicitas tu-
tissimam facit.
Aug. Ep. Fun-
dam. cap. 4. et T.
p. 225.

A Parliament
called.

An, Christi
1625.

And Assem-
bled.

The Kings
Speech.

his Supream Councel, an half-form'd, sterill thing : the naturall Extracts of the one, procreated without a Wife, are not more spurious then the Laws, the Politique Descendents of the other, without the coition of a Representative. The solemnity of this Grand Match was commenced at Westminster, June the 18. At the first interview, it appeared under the scheme and fashion of a Money-Wedding ; and in truth, the publick affairs did then implore no less. Upon the opening of the Parliament, the King imparted his mind to the Lords and Commons, to this effect.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

YO U are not ignorant, that at your earnest entreaty, March 23. 1623. my Father (of happy memory) first took up arms for the recovery of the Palatinate, for which purpose, by your assistance, he began to form a considerable Army, and to prepare a goodly Armado, and Navie-Royal. But Death intervening between him and the Attievement, the War, with the Crown, is devolved upon Me. To the prosecution whereof, as I am obliged, both in Nature and Honour, so I question not, but the same necessity continuing, you'l cherish the Action, with the like Affection, and further it with a ready Contribution. True it is, you furnished my Father with affectionate Supplies, but they held no symmetry or proportion with the charge of so great an Enterprize. For those your Donatives are all disburs't to a peny ; and I am enforced to summon you hither, to tell you, that neither can the Army advance, nor the Fleet set forth, without further Aid.

Consider, I pray you, the Eyes of all Europe are fixt upon Me, to whom I shall appear ridiculous, as though I were unable to outgo Muster and Ostentation, if you now desert Me. Consider, it is my first Attempt, wherein, if I sustain a foyle, it will blemish all my future Honour.

If mine cannot, let your own Reputation move you: deliver and expedite me fairly out of this War, wherein you have encombred (let it never be said, wherein you have betrayed) me. I desire therefore, your speedy supply ; speedy I call it, for else it will prove no supply. The Sun you know is entring into his declining point ; so it will be soon too late to set forth, when it will be rather not too soon to return. Again, I must mind you of the Mortality now regnant in this City, which should it (as so it may, and no breach of Priviledge neither) arrest any one Member of either House, it soon would put a period both to Consultation and Session ; so that your own Periclitation, necessitates an early Resolution.

The Reign of King Charles.

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In sum, three of the best Rhetoricians, Honour, Opportunity, and An. Christi, Safety, are all of a Plot, and plead, you see, for expedition. Perhaps, it may be expected, I should say something in way of account of my Religion; as also, of the temper and tenure of my future Government. But, as I hope, I have not been guilty of any thing, which may justly start the least question in either; so I desire you would repose in this assurance, that I will, in neither, vary from those Principles, wherein I have been instituted at the feet of that eminent Gamaliel, my late Father.

1625.

His Speech being ended, the King vailed his Crown, a thing rare in any of his Predecessors.

Though deny'd it could not be, but this Speech was elemented of very rational Materials, and ponderous Arguments; yet did it not cause such a precipitation of Resolution, but that the Parliament did descend to consideration of it by degrees.

That which retarded the Debate, was this; They had in store by them two *Petitions*; one for *Religion*; the other, against *Grievances*: to which, having been model'd in King James his time, and prefer'd to him at the close of the last Session of the last Parliament, they (as yet) never received answer. They said it was the ancient, and as they conceived, a most prudentiall practice, to present *Petitions* at the Commencement of Parliaments, or so long before their Dissolution, as the King might have time to return a full and deliberate Answer; That the same course they were resolved strictly to pursue, and give priority of dispatch to those *Petitions*, before any other business whatsoever; which accordingly they did.

The Parliaments Answer.

To the several Heads against *Grievances*, his Majesty gave a distinct and satisfactory Answer, and promised largely to the *Petition* for Religion: and the better to draw on supplies, he did audit to them the several Disbursements, both relating to the Army and Navy, that all jealousies of mis-employment might be removed; which produced so good effects, as the Laitie gave him, freely and without condition, two *Subsidies* from Protestants, and four from Papists, as a mulct of the House, upon their Recusancy, and the Clergy three.

This was upon *July* the Eighth, and the next day the King signified, That He took notice of the slender appearance in the House, by reason of the Infection; and that therefore, having a tender regard to their healths, he declared his Intention of adjourning upon Munday next, being the 11th, of that moneth; which accordingly was performed, to the 1. of *August*, and Oxford named for the place, which gave disgust to some few of the House.

An. Christi
1625.

Mr. Mountague
questioned.

In this Session of Parliament was Mr. Mountague questioned, for publishing certain Books, prejudicial to the Protestant cause, for which he was ordered to be brought to the Bar, to whom the Speaker declared the pleasure of the House, That they would refer his censure to the next meeting; and, in the interim, in respect of his notorious contempt, he should stand committed to the Serjeants Ward, entering Bail for his then appearance.

But Mr. Mountague had, by the artifice of his Court-friends, cunningly crept into the Kings service undiscerned, and the King signified to the Parliament two days after, That he thought his servants (whereof Mountague was one) might have as much protection as the servant of an ordinary Burgefs. Nevertheless, his Bond of two thousand pound, whereupon he was bailed, continued uncanceled.

This Session, was also enacted a Law for punishing of divers abuses committed on the Lords-day, called Sunday.

A Law, enabling the Kings Majesty, to make Leases of Lands parcel of his Highness Dutchy of Cornwall, or annexed to the same.

A Law, for the ease, in obtaining of Licenses of Alienation, and in the pleading of Alienations with Licence, or of Pardon of Alienation without Licence in the Court of Exchequer, or elsewhere.

A Law, for the further restraint of tipling in Inns, Alehouses, and other Viſualling-houses.

An Act, that this Session of Parliament, shall not determine by his Majesties Royal assent to these Acts.

There passed also in the House of Commons a Bill of Tunnage and Poundage; but because it was limited to a year, whereas former Grants, to his Majesties Predecessors, were for term of life, it was foundred in the Lords House, and went no further; the cause of this restraint was,

In the Parliament, 18. of King James, the Kings Council culled out of that Act, Reasons for pretermitted Customs, and other Impositions, which were then charged upon, and grievances to the Subject. Again, there had been lately set an immoderate Rate upon those Customs; and therefore they had in design to reduce them to the Rate settled in Queen Maries dayes; but they had not time enough, at present, to make the Reformation.

The Parliament
assembled at Ox-
ford.

August the first, the Parliament met again at Oxford, the Divinity School was appointed for the House of Commons, and the Galleries above, for the House of Lords.

The fourth of the same moneth, both Houses were called together to Christ-Church-hall by the King, where He laid open to them, his wants, for setting forth the Fleet. But the Parliament, before

before they would return his Majesty any Answer, presented Him with a Petition against Recusants, to this effect.

An. Christi,
1625.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

IT being infallibly true, that nothing can more establish your Throne, and assure the peace and prosperity of your People, then the unity and sincerity of Religion; we your Majesties most humble and loyal Subjects, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, observing that of late there is an apparent mischievous encrease of Papists within your Dominions, hold our selves bound in Conscience, and Duty, to present the same unto your sacred Majesty, together with the dangerous Consequences, and what we conceive to be the most principal Causes, and what may be the Remedies thereof.

1. Their desperate ends, being the subversion both of Church and State, and the restlesnesse of their spirits to attain those ends. The Doctrine of their Teachers and Leaders perswading them, that therein they shall do God good service.
2. Their evident and strict dependence upon such forein Princes, as no way affect the good of your Majesty and this State.
3. An opening a way of Popularity to the ambition of any who shall adventure to make himself head of so great a party.

The principal Causes of the increase of Papists.

1. The want of due execution of the Laws against Jesuits, Seminary Priests and Papists, Recusants, occasioned partly by the connivence of the State, partly by many abuses of Officers.
2. The interposing of forein Princes, by their Ambassadors and Agents in favour of them.
3. Their great concourse to the City, and their frequent Conventicles, and Conferences there.
4. The education of their Children in Houses and Seminaries of their Religion in forein parts, which of late have been greatly multiplied and enlarged, for the entertainment of the English:
5. That in many places of this your Realm, your people are not sufficiently instructed in the knowledge of true Religion.
6. The licentious publishing of Popish and seditious Books.
7. The imployment of men ill-affected in Religion, in places of Government, who countenance the Popish party.

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1625.

The Remedies be these:

1. That there be great care taken, in choice, and admitting School-masters, and that the Ordinaries make diligent inquiries of their demeanours, and proceed to the removing of such as shall be faulty.
2. That the ancient Discipline of the University be restored, being the famous Nursery of Literature.
3. That for the propagation of the Gospel, such able Ministers, as have been formerly silenced, may, by fair entreaty of the Bishops, be reduced to the service of the Church, and that Non-residency, Pluralities, and Commendums, may be moderated.
4. That a straight provision may be made against transporting of English Children to Popish Seminaries beyond Seas, and for recalling such as are there already.
5. That no Popish Recusant be permitted to come within the Court, unless upon speciall occasion, agreeable to the Statute, 3d. Jacobi.
6. That all Jesuits, Priests, and others, having taken Orders from the See of Rome, may be banished by Proclamation; and, in case of disobedience, may be proceeded against, according to the Lawes of the Land.
7. That none, by any Authority derived from the See of Rome, be permitted to confer Orders, or exercise any Ecclesiastical Function within your Majesties Dominions.
8. That all former Grants of Recusants Lands, made to the use and interest of such Recusants, may, by the advice of your Majesties Council, be voided.
9. That all Recusants may be excommunicated, and not absolved, but upon conformity.
10. That all Recusants be removed from places of Authority, and Government.
11. That all Recusants be disarmed, according to the provision of the Law.
12. That they may be all confin'd to remain at their Countrey habitations, and not to travel above five miles from thence.
13. That none of your Majesties natural born Subjects, be suffered to repair to the hearing of Masses, or other superstitious service, at the Chappels, or Houses, of forein Ambassadors, or else-where.
14. That all such Insolencies, as any Popishly affected have lately committed, to the dishonour of our Religion, be exemplarily punished.
15. That the penalty of 12 d. every Sunday, for default of coming to Divine Service in the Church, without lawful excuse, may be put in execution.

Lastly,

The Reign of King Charles.

15

Lastly, That your Majesty would be pleased to order, that the like courses may be taken in Ireland, for the establishing of true Religion there.

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1625.

To all these several Branches, the King return'd August 7. an Answer so plausible and satisfactory, as nothing could be desired more.

The Kings
Answer.

One good turn requires another, and as the King had given the Parliament ample content by this Answer; so he hoped they would be as cheerful in supplying him with moneyes, for which he earnestly importuned them; and especially for his great Naval preparation. Whereupon ensued a great Debate in the House, some were very prompt to give, without delay; some would give, but in convenient time, not then: some would give, but they complained that the Design was managed by *Young and Single Council*; that *Sir Robert Mansel*, a man of judgment and experience, had declared against the Plot, and had tendered the Council of War a project of greater advantage, and less expence, which was approved by the Lord of *Chichester*: To which the *Solicitor* replied in the Dukes behalf, that the Council of War (for the generality) much disliked the project of *Sir Robert*, and concluded upon what was then intended. But the greater part agreed not to give: and to make an humble Remonstrance, declaring the Causes and Reasons of their not giving.

Most of the Voters of this Remonstrance, flew high, and impudently prest in upon the Duke: some would devest him of his Offices, the Admiralty especially; others of his Revenue, by resuming what he posselt of the Crown demaens: Others, demanded an account of what publike monies he had been entrusted with. This being signify'd to the King, he soon prognosticated of what quality the Remonstrance would prove; therefore, in distaste, he determined to dissolve the Parliament. The House of Commons were resolved into a grand Committee, when the *Usher* came from the Lords house with that message, and before they would permit the *Solicitor*, then in the Chair, to leave his seat, they agreed upon a Protestation, which *Mr. Glanville* stood up, and declared to this effect:

First, To give his Majesty thanks for his gracious Answer to our Petition for Religion.

Next, For his Care of our healths, in giving us leave to depart this dangerous time.

Lastly,

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1625.

The Parlia-
ment was
ved.

Treaty with
the United
Provinces.

The ill suc-
cess of Gales
Voyage.

Lastly A dutiful Declaration of our Affection, and Loyalty, and purpose to supply his Majesty in a Parliamentary way, in a fitting and convenient time.

This being done, the Speaker took the Chair; and admitting the Usher, he delivered his Message from the Lords, concerning the dissolution of the Parliament.

Now had the King an *otium* for his Summers pastime; but, that his own progress might not impede that of his Affairs, his Council were commanded to go along with him: By whose general Advice, two things were most considerably resolved upon.

First, That the Fleet should speedily put out to Sea.

Secondly, That a more straight Amity should be entered into, with the States of the United Provinces.

Who, resorting to the King in September, by their Ambassadors, prayed his Conjunction with them in a League Offensive and Defensive, against their Common-Enemies, the Emperor, and King of Spain; and not only so, but that he would also assist them in soliciting other Princes to associate with them, in a Confederation of equal Latitude.

To which our King freely condescended (upon agreement, that the States should bear a fourth part of the charge of the Fleet) and, in pursuance thereof, sent in October next, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl of Holland, over to the Hague, both to confer with the Ambassadors of other Princes about it, and to put his disconsolate Sister in some hopes of her restitution to the Palatinate.

But these two being arrived in Holland, found the Agents of France and Denmark not impowered to so large a Concession; al- leading, That their Masters condition was indisposed to so ample a Compliance: Whereupon, for the better satisfaction of, and accommodation to all parties, the League was concluded in these words; For the restoring the Liberties of Germa- ny.

This Negotiation; having taken up somewhat more then a moneth, home returns the Duke and Earl, where they abode not long, before they were saluted with the current news of the misfortune of Vicount Wimbletons Fleet at Gades.

October the 8th, the Admiral put forth to Sea, and on the 12. was encountered with so furious a storm, that in conflict and skirmish with it, all his Long-boats, and the *Long-Robert* of Ips- wich, a Ship wherein a hundred seventy five persons perished, and the rest were so dissipated and scattered, that for seven dayes, fifty of the English Navy, being (in all) but eighty, were missing.

Again,

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1625.

Again, when they met together in the height of the Southern Cape, and had a desire to make some local Onset, a Councell of War being called, to resolve, where the attempt should be first made (their Commission leaving them at that liberty) the debate was so long, as in the interim, their discovery alarum'd the next Coast to a posture of Defence.

At length, the Council determined an assault upon the ships in the Bay of *Gades*, a design much urged by the Earl of *Essex*, Vice-Admiral, who eagerly desired there to play over his Game of Honour again, double or quit with the *Spaniards*. But that Fleet lay in a Harbor inaccessible, unless the Fort belonging to *Puntal Castle* could be cleared; therefore Order was given, That twenty English and five Dutch Ships should advance for that service.

But the slender reputation the Admirall had amongst the Mariners (as one ignorant in Sea Affairs) and a deep disgust they took, that he should be obtruded and thrust upon them in stead of Sir *Robert Mansel*, a Gentleman peculiarly qualified for, and long traded in Sea exploits, who had (as they thought) an unquestionable right to the chief conduct of this enterprise (upon the Dukes default) so lessen'd the influence of the Authority, that the five Dutch onely attended their duty, not a man of the other twenty stirring: which caused the Admirall from ship to ship, personally to re-inforce his Command, untill with much ado, he obtained their advance and engagement against the Castle; which, contrary to expectation, entertained the shock with so sturdy a defiance, as neer two thousand great shot put it not to the detriment of one stone. Whereupon the Admirall concluding it that way impregnable, decreed to try it by a Land-force; to which end, Sir *John Burroughs* (a Gentleman of eminent gallantry in Martial feats) was sent with a Regiment of Foot to manage that design; He going upon the service, met with some Horse and Foot of the Enemies intending to impede his march; but he welcomed them with such a storm of courage, that the Captain Governour of the Castle viewing the tergiversation and flight of his party, began to dislike the scituation of his strength, and hung out a white flag; whereupon a parley ensued, and a resignation upon that Parley. The Fort, with 15 Barrels of Powder, and eight pieces of Ordinance, being now ours, the ships were consequently in the general expectation adjudged us: therefore Instructions were issued out for the firing of them, and Sir *Samuel Argal* was appointed to be the Incendiary. And, in the interim, the Field-men were directed to Land for their Recreation, to take in fresh-water, to forrage the Countrey, and to keep the stronger Guard: but no sooner were they on shore, then they discovered the Cellars

E

plentifully

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1625.

plentifully stock't with Wine, whereof they caroused to liberally (every one being his own Vintner) in despite of more sober commands to the contrary, as put them upon the hazard of a dismal reckoning; for had the *Spaniard* known his advantage, he might have made a lamentable butchery amongst them, being worse fitted for flight then resistance, and the more disabled from running who were not able to stand. The Admirall finding the souldiers thus insufferably disordered, and perceiving that to stay longer were bootlesse, resolved to put to Sea again, and the rather by reason the *Plate Fleet* from the *West-Indies* was now expected every day. But first he sent to Sir *Samuel Argal* to know what execution he had done, who returned answer, that their purpose was defeated by the enemies drawing up their best ships to *Port Royal*, and sinking others in the Channel, thereby to obstruct the advenue. Matters succeeding thus ill, the Admirall re-imbarques all and hoysing up sayl plies for the *Southward Cape*, there intending to wait twenty dayes for the *Plate-Fleet*, hoping to atchieve something against it; which might be adequate to, and make even with, the general expectation at home: but he was in no capacity to performe any thing considerable against an enemy, unles by communication of his own calamity, for the contagion so reigned in his Navie, that there were not hail men enow to handle the sails; and to make the affliction more sociable, there being a hundred & fifty sick in the *S. George*, the Councel ordred (an odde method of cure) that every ship should take to nurse a couple of the sick, and subfortitiously, by lor, to supply their places with as many sound. This course so propagated the infection, that it soon swept thousands over-board. This calamity took away the Admirals stomach to the *Plate-fleet* (which passed by within four dayes after) and enforced him to ply home with all the speed he could; but his morion was so retarded, that the newes of his miscarriage much outwent him, and while every man stood gaping after the issue of the expedition, fame flew into his mouth, and fill'd it with the report of what a bad market of reputation the *English* came to.

Descants upon
it.

Several were the Descants of such as pretended to judicious censure, as fancy or affection swayed the ballance; some blamed the Parliament for not supplying the *Kings* necessities, whereby the Fleet put forth too late, *October* being always accounted with us a month formidable to Navigation, in regard of the usual tempestuousnesse of the season, known under the notion of *Michaelmas flaw*. Some reflected sinisterly upon the Duke, saying *It never either was, or will be well with England, while the Sea is under the command of an Admirall so young, and withall so*
inex-

unexperienced. Others also made deductions from this miscarriage in reference to the King, that because Commencements do often forespeak the Qualification of future Contingencies in the Series, and Row of succeeding-Affairs, they much feared this was but the earnest of some Inauspiciousness which would attend the residue of his Reign. Nor amongst the rest, was Captain *Brets* conjecture vain, who told the Duke, *That the Fleet was never like to speed better, wherein there went along, Bag without Money; Cook without Meat; and Love without Charity;* so were the three Captains named. And a great default there was, doubtlesse, of sufficient pay, of wholsom meat, and unanimity.

The result of this undertaking (for Action I cannot call it) affording no better income of honour to us, I have abbreviated to as narrow a scantling as I could; for *Journals* must not intrude into History, but where every day exhibiteth something remarkable, whose concealment may seem injurious to the Narrative, or fraudulent to the merit of the exploit.

The *Michaelmas Term* was, by reason of the infection at London, translated to *Redding*, from whence the King, according to his late Answer in Parliament, issued out in November, a Commission to the Judges, to see the Laws against *Recusants* put in execution.

November the eleventh, his Majesty minding what he promised at Oxford, ordered a Commission to be sent out under the Great Seal, for putting in execution Laws enacted against *Recusants*.

This Commission was read in all the Courts of Judicature at *Redding*; and withall, a Letter was directed to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, enjoining him to take speciall care within his Province for the discovery of *Jesuits*, *Seminary Priests*, and other *Recusants*, offenders against the Laws. It was, in truth, high time, for severe proceedings against them, they having contracted so much insolence, presuming protection, by reason of the late Match, that at *Winchester*, and many other places, they frequently passed through the Churches in time of Divine Service, houting and ho-lo-ing, not onely to the disturbance of that Duty, but scorn of our Religion; yea, and one Popish Lord, when the King was at Chappell, was heard to prate on purpose lowder in a Gallery adjoyning, then the Chaplain prayed; whereat the King was so moved, that he sent this message to him, *Either let him come, and do as we do; or else I will make him prate further off.*

In the beginning of the next year, mighty preparation was made, both here, and in Scotland, for the re-inforcing of Naval strength.

An. Christi
1625.

Term adjourn-
ed to *Redding*.

Proclamation
against *Recu-
sants*.

The Popish
Insolence.

An. Christi
1625.

The King
Crowned.

Obtineat gratiam
huius Populi
sicut Aaron in
Tabernaculo,
Elizens in fluxu
maris, Zacharias
in Templo. Sit
Petrus in clave
Paulus in dog-
mate.

A Parliament
called.

Nor was the *Land-Militia* left unregarded, but because the *Countrey Captains* of the *Train-bands* were (for the generality) very unskilfull and rude in the use of their Arms, an hundred and fifty *Veteran* Souldiers were sent for out of the *Low-Countries* to drill and discipline them.

The malignancy of the Air, having lain under the correction of a nipping and frosty Winter, began to contract a more salubrious temper, whereby the Plague decreasing, the King secure of safety, began to meditate magnificence, and matters of publick concernment. And the first thing resolved upon was, his solemn initiation into Regality, and setting the Crown upon his head: a thing practised by the wisest Monarchs, as where-in they cannot be idle to better purpose. For, though it conferreth no one dram of solid and reall grandure to the Throne; yet ceremoniated, as it is, with such Formalities, it representeth it self a serious vanity. For, as the King enters recognizance and stipulateth with the People, to govern according to Law; so they unanimously acclaim him their King, all futable to the ancient mode of conveying Sovereignty.

The day appointed for this Ceremony, was *Feb.* the 2d. The King, whether more provident for his person (which so great a concourse might endanger) or purse, uncertain, rode not to *Westminster* through the City, after the ancient fashion, but went privately by water: This design was a frugall one, and saved him sixty thousand pound, which should otherwise have been disbursed in *Scarlet* for his Train; and little was the day lesse glorious for the *No-rubrique* of solemnity, considering it wanted it not in the *Calendar*. Two things were of singular remarque in the Order of this Celebrity: First, that whereas it properly belongs to the Dean of *Westmin.* to bear a considerable part in that sacred Administration, Dr. *Williams* that Dean, and Bishop of *Lincoln*, was put put by; and Dr. *Laud*, Bishop of *St. Davids*, ordered to officiate in his stead. Secondly, That some words in a Prayer, which had been omitted ever since *Henry* the 6. his time, were resumed, and used to this effect; *Let him obtain favour for this people, like Aaron in the Tabernacle, Elisha in the waters, Zacharias in the Temple, give him Peters Key of Discipline, Paul's Doctrine.* Other variation then this there was none; nor was this variation the solitary act of *Laud* alone, but of a Committee: This I positively assert, as minding the Reformation of a vulgar Error, thrown abroad in loose Pamphlets, that Bishop *Laud* altered the Coronation Oath; whereas the Oath it self was precisely the same with former Precedents.

The Coronation being past, the King prepareth for a Parliament now approaching. The last was somewhat (he thought) uncivil towards the Duke, and the (so thought) Delinquents must

must be made examples; upon this account the Lord Keeper Williams, soon after the dissolution of the Parliament, fell, and his place disposed of to Sir Thomas Coventry: Many who knew what a friendly hand the Duke had lent this Bishop, all along every morion of his advancement, and that he was raised under the sole conduct of his favour, interpreted this traverse of the Bishop to the other party, as an act of deep ingratitude; and so it was in truth, if any consideration apart from the interest of the Common-wealth moved him to it: if not, the fact was warrantable. For when once the Publique is put into our Clientele, under our protection, all by-Relations must stand aloof. Nor was his mischief great, his cancelier; his fall being onely from the first lost: for though he parted from the Great Seal, he kept the Lawn-sleeves; and though he left the Purse behind him, he went away with the Money: having feathered his Nest pretty well, and apprehending his condition to be somewhat tottering, he made all the means he could to re-ingratiat himself with the Duke, but nothing could prevail; nor would the Duke be exorated, no nor by the intercession of the Countesse his Mother: but it was not enough to pluck his feathers, unless his nails were pared also. For, being a Bishop, and consequently a Member of the House of Peers, he was still able to appear an eminent opposer of the Dukes, and to do him some considerable mischief; therefore the best Expedient for the Dukes security, was, to interdict him with the Earls of Somerset, Middlesex, Bristol, (all of an inclination, though not all of a plume) the Parliament house; which was now done accordingly.

On the 6. of this February the Parliament met, the Commons began their work, where they last broke off at Oxford, making Religion their first, which was their superlative care, and recollecting what a full and satisfactory Answer the King gave to their Petition against Recusants; and his Commission issued out in pursuance of that Answer, appointed a Committee for Religion, impow'ring them, strictly to examine what abuses of his Majesties Grace had occur'd since that time, who were the Authors and Abettors of those Abuses.

Mean while, the Lords had formed an Adresse to the King, concerning a Grievance to their own Order, represented thus;

An. Christi
1625.

Williams, Lord
Keeper, dis-
placed.

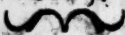
The Parlia-
ment meet.

A Petition from
the Lords.

To

An. Christi

1625.



To the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

In all Humility,

S Heweth unto your most Excellent Majesty, your ever Loyall Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, now in Parliament assembled;

That, whereas the Peers and Nobility of this your Kingdome of England, have heretofore (in civility) yielded, as to strangers, precedency, according to their severall degrees, unto such Nobles of Scotland and Ireland, as being in Titles above them, have resorted hither.

Now divers of the Natural-born Subjects of this Kingdome, resident here with their Families, and having their chief Estates among us; do, by reason of some late created Dignities, in those Kingdomes of Scotland and Ireland, claim precedency of the Peers of this Realm, which tends both to the dis-service of your Majesty, and these Realms; and to the great disparagement of the English Nobility, as by these Reasons may appear:

1. It is a novelty without precedent, That men should inherit Honours, where they possesse nothing else.

2. It is injurious to those Countries, from whence their Titles are derived, that any should have Vote in Parliament, where they have not a foot of Land.

3. It is a grievance to the Countrey where they inhabit, that men possessing very large Fortunes and Estates, should by reason of forraign Titles be exempted from those services of Trust and Charge, which, through their default, become greater pressures upon others, who bear the burthen.

4. It is a shame to Nobility, that persons dignified with the Titles of Barons, Vicounts, &c. should be obnoxious and exposed to arrest, they being in the view of the Law, no more then meere Plebeians.

we therefore humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased, according to the example of the best Princes, and Times, upon consideration of these inconveniences, represented to your Majesty, by the nearest Body of Honour to your Majesty, that some course may be taken, and an Order timely settled therein by your Princely wisdom, so as the inconvenience to your Majesty may be prevented, and the prejudice and disparagement of the Peers and Nobility of this Kingdome may be redressed.

Soon

Soon after the presenting of this Petition (to which the King reply'd, *He would take order therein*) the Earl of Arundel was committed to the Tower. The cause was a Marriage consummate between his Son the Lord Maltravers, and the eldest Daughter of the late Duke of Lenox, whom the King (being Guardian to them both) had so far designed to, as he had concluded the Match with, the Earl of Argiles Heir, the Lord of Lorn, (who was brought up in England in the Protestant Religion) meditating thereby a Reconciliation of those two Families, who had for many years been at deadly feud. The Earl asked his Majesties pardon, protesting himself no way privy to the Plot, and that it was acted between the Dutchets of Lenox, and his own Countess, in a clandestine way.

But this commitment of the Earl, presently moved the House of Peers to exhibit another Petition, representing therein to the King, that it is their undoubted Right [That no Peer, sitting in Parliament, is to be imprisoned without Order from the House of Peers, unless it be for *Treason, Felony, or refusing to give security for the Peace.*] They had the more reason to urge their privilege at this time, because the Earl had deputed to him six Proxies, which would be of no validity during his restraint. Upon this Petition, a great debate arose between the King and Lords, about the privilege of their House, which lasted from March 14. untill June the 8.

During these things, the House of Commons acted little, being in expectation of some discovery from their Committee; from whom, Mr. Pim, at length, made a report of a Letter written to the Lord Mayor of York, for reprieving some Jesuits, Priests, and other Recusants. This Letter being under the Signet, a Sub-Committee was ordered to search the Signet Office, and compare it with the Original.

These proceedings inwardly much displeased the King, yet he smothered the indignity for a time; though he after inventory'd it to them amongst his other regrets. And plying his more important Affairs with a most iteddy temper, he sent a Message to them by Sir Richard Weston, to this effect;

That his Fleet is returned, and their vittuals spent, the men must of necessity be discharged, and their wages paid them, or else mutiny will follow, which may be of dangerous consequence.

That he hath in readines about 40. ships to be set forth upon a second service, which want a present supply of moneys.

That the Armies quartered on the Coasts, want vittuals and cloaths, and they will disband, if not furnished.

The Companies of Ireland lately sent, must speedily be provided for, else they may be subject to rebell.

Lastly,

An. Christi
1625.

The King demands supply.

An. Christi
1625.

Mr. Coke and
Dr. Turner
their bold
Speech.

The King re-
quires satisfac-
tion.

By the Lord
Keeper.

His Speech.

Lastly, the season for providing healthful victual will be past, if this moneth of March be suffered negligently to elapse.

And therefore he desired to know, without more ado, what present supply he must depend upon from them, that accordingly he might shape his course.

In stead of a supply to his Message, Mr. Clement Coke (Son to Sir Edward Coke) a Member of the House of Commons, let fly this Reply ; *It is better to die by a forein Enemy, then to be destroyed at home.* And, as if the Prerogative had not been sufficiently alarm'd by that expreffion, one Turner, a Doctor of Physick, re-assaults it, in these six Queries.

1. *Whether the King hath not lost the Regality of the Narrow Seas, since the Duke became Admiral ?*

2. *Whether his going as Admiral in this last Fleet, was not the cause of the ill success ?*

3. *Whether the Kings Revenue hath not been impaired through his immense liberality ?*

4. *Whether he hath not ingrossed all Offices, and preferred his kindred to unfit places ?*

5. *Whether he hath not made sale of places of Judicature ?*

6. *Whether Recusants have not dependence upon his Mother and Father-in-law ?*

This was uncouth language to a Princes ears ; but who can expect, that in so vast a body, and mass of men, all parcels should take salt alike, and that no part should have rancidity in it ? Yet, perhaps, this clamor and noise might be the rudeness of some few, new admitted into that great School of Wisdom, the greater part continuing (it's possible) sincere, and loyal ; therefore the King sends Sir Richard Weston to them, requiring satisfaction. But the House was slower in the work, then was agreeable to his Majesties mind, so intent upon some severe proceedings against them : upon this, he called the Lords and them together, and by the Lord Keeper, his proper Speaker, thus conveys his displeasure to them.

“ My Lords, and you the *Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses*, of the “ House of Commons, His Majesties Command hath summoned “ you hither, and the same Command hath put me upon the “ service of signifying his Will to you. His Will was, that “ both Houses should be called together; you, my Lords, as witnesses of the Justice of his Resolutions, and of this Address to “ the House of Commons.

“ His Majesty would have you know, there never was King, “ who better loved his People, or was more sincerely affected “ towards the right use of Parliaments, or more ready to redress

The Reign of King Charles

D^s

“drefs what shall be represented unto him in the quality of
 “Grievance ; provided, it be in a regular and decent way, than
 “Himself : but he would also have you know, that, as he loves
 “his People, so he regards his Honour ; and if he be sensible of
 “his Subjects Grievances, of his own he is much more, espe-
 “cially when they flow from Offences of such a nature ; as not
 “onely blast his Reputation, but impede the progress of his
 “weighty Affairs. To come to Particulars.

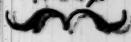
“His Majesty saith, That, whereas Mr. *Coke* spake very sediti-
 “ous words in your House, he was so far from being questio-
 “ned or censured for them by you, as Dr. *Turner* (animated
 “with the same spirit) made them his Introduction to certain
 “Articles of Inquiry of as unsavoury a condition, pretended
 “against the Duke, but, in truth, libelling his Majesties Govern-
 “ment. And though his Majesty did not onely by Sir *Richard*
 “*Weston*, but in his own person declare his just displeasure, and
 “demanded Justice against those Exorbitants ; yet have you
 “not onely halted in your obedience to him, but have followed
 “the very steps of Dr. *Turner* ; and, upon false-bottom’d sugges-
 “tions endeavoured to distain his Own and Fathers honour.

“He also complaineth, that you have taken upon you to
 “search his Signet-Office, and to examine the Letters of his
 “Secretary of State, leaving him nothing free from their disco-
 “very : a thing not formerly practised.

“As concerning the Duke, whom you seem to persecute with
 “such asperity of disgust, I am also commanded to tell you, that
 “his Majesty knows (none better) he acted nothing of Publique
 “Employment, without his special Warrant ; that he hath dis-
 “charged his Trust with abundant both care and fidelity ; that
 “he merited that Trust, both from his now Majesty, and his late
 “Father, by his personal hazard, both at home and abroad :
 “And that since his return from *Spain*, he hath been sedulous
 “in promoting the service and contentment of your House. It
 “is therefore his express Command, that you absolutely desist
 “from such unparliamentary disquisitions, and resign the Re-
 “formation of what is amiss to his Majesties Care, Wisdom,
 “and Justice.

“I am also to speak about the business of supply ; you have
 “been made acquainted with the posture of his Majesties Af-
 “fairs, both Forein and Domestique, and with his necessitous
 “condition ; the charge of all Martial Preparations, both by
 “Sea and Land, hath been calculated to you, and you promised
 “a supply both speedy and suitable to his occasions ; but his
 “Majesty complaineth, that as yet, you have performed neither,
 “failing both in the measure, and in the manner. In the mea-
 “sure, by granting onely three Subsidies, and three fifteens ; a

An. Christi,
1629.



The Kings
Speech

The Com-
mons Reply

Ans. Christy,
1625.



proportion vailly short of what is requisite. In the manner, being both dilatory and dishonorable to the King, as arguing distrust of him; for you have ordered the Bill not to be brought into the House, untill your Grievances be both heard and answered: which is such a tacite condition, as his Majesty will not admit of.

Therefore his Majesty commands you to take it into your speedy consideration, and to return your final Answer by Saturday next, what further Addition you will make; and if your Supplies commensurate and equal the demands of the Cause, he promiseth to continue this Session to your just content; else he must and will entertain thoughts of your dismissal.

Lastly, I am commanded to tell you, that his Majesty doth not charge those Distempers upon the whole Body, and Assembly of the House; but as he is confident, the greater number are persons of a more quiet dispose, so he hopeth their influence, and this his Majesties admonition will prevent the like for the time to come.

The Lord Keeper having ended, the King said,

I must withall put you in minde of times past; you may remember my Father moved by your counsel, and won by your persuasions, brake the Treaties; in these persuasions, I was your instrument towards him, and I was glad to be instrumental in any thing, which might please the whole Body of the Realm: nor was there any then in greater favour with you, then this man, whom you now so traduce. And now when you find me so sure intangled in war, as I have no honourable and safe retreat; you make my necessity your priviledge, and set what rate you please upon your Supplies: a practice not very obliging towards Kings. Mr. Coke told you, It was better to dye by a forain Enemy, then to be destroyed at home. Indeed, I think it is more honourable for a King to be invaded; and almost destroyed by a forain Enemy, then to be despised at home.

The Commons nothing moved with these tart and vinacre expressions, kept close to their proper stations; and, by way of Remonstrance, reply'd,

That, with extreame joy and comfort, they acknowledge the favour of his Majesties most gracious expressions of affection to his People, and this present Parliament.

That, concerning Mr. Coke, true it is, he let fall some few words which might admit an ill construction, and that the House was displeased therewith, as they declared by a general check; and though Mr.

Coke's

The Kings
Speech.

The Com-
mons Reply.

Coke's explanation of his mind more clearly, and somewhat abate the offence of the House; yet were they resolved to take it into further consideration, and so have done; the effect whereof had appeared ere this, had they not been interrupted by this his Majesties Message; and the like interruption befell them also in the business of Doctor Turner.

As concerning the examination of the Letters of his Secretary of State; as also of his Majesties own, and searching the Signet Office, and other Records; they had doae nothing therein, not warranted by the Precedents of former Parliaments, upon the like occasions.

That, concerning the Duke, they did humbly beseech his Majesty to be informed, that it hath been the constant and undoubted usage of Parliaments, to question and complain of any person of what degree soever; and what they should do in relation to him, they little doubted but it should redound to the honour of the Crown, and safety of the Kingdom.

Lastly, As to the matter of Supply; That if addition may be made of other things importing his service, then in consultation amongst them, they were resolved so to supply him, as might evidence the truth of their intentions, might make him safe at home, and formidable abroad.

To the Remonstrance, the King answered briefly; That he would have them, in the first place, consult about matters of the greatest importance, and that they should have time enough for other things afterwards.

But the Parliament accounted nothing of so great importance, as a vigorous proceeding against the Duke: In order to which, all encouragement is given by both Houses, to any who would inform against him. The Earl of Bristow vigilantly listened for this Call; and though one not without sinne, and probably not without the same, yet made hast to throw the first stone at him; presently petitioning the House he might be admitted to prefer an Accusation against him: a Request, as readily granted by the Lords, as tendered by him. The Duke allarm'd with this Petition, plots amain (and high time) either to divert, or encounter him: He perswades the King to send the Earl a premonitory Letter, framed as a Memorial, minding him of all his miscarriages, relating to the Spanish Treaty, and a Breviate of what became his future Charge; demanding, withall, his positive Answer, whether he would sit still from being questioned for any Errors past in his Spanish Negotiation, and enjoy the benefit of the Pardon granted by the late Parliament; or, moving the advantage thereof, put himself upon a Legal Trial.

An. Christi
1625.

The Earl of
Bristow accuseth the Duke.

To this the Earl answered, That it became him not as a Subject, to urge a Trial against himself; but if his Majesty should call him to it, he would willingly submit, being confident, his Innocence would mediate for his future favour. As for the Pardon, he would not disclaim it, though he was confident, he should not need it for any Crime of Disloyalty to his Majesty, or Treason against the State. The King perceiving by this Reply, the Earl resolved to persist, commanded the Attorney-General to summon the Earl to the Lords Bar as a Delinquent, May the 1. Bristow appearing, the Attorney told the Peers, That he came thither, to accuse the Earl of High Treason: With that the Earl, My Lords I am a Freeman, and a Peer of the Realm unattainted, I have somewhat to say of high consequence for his Majesties service, I beseech your Lordships give me leave to speak. The Lords bidding him go on, then said he, I accuse that man, the Duke of Buckingham, of High Treason, and will prove it. The Articles of his Charge were as followeth:

1. That the Duke did secretly conspire with the Conde of Gondamar, Ambassadour of Spain, before the said Ambassadors last return into Spain, 1622. to carry his Majesty then Prince into Spain, to the end, he might be enforced, and instanced in the Romish Religion, and thereby have perverted the Prince, and subverted the true Religion established in England.
2. That Mr. Porter was made acquainted therewith, and sent into Spain, and such Message framed at his return, as might serve for a ground to set on foot the Conspiracy: which was done accordingly, and thereby both King and Prince highly abused.
3. The Duke at his arrival in Spain, nourished the Spanish Ministers not onely in the belief of his own being Popishly given, by absenting himself from all Exercises of our Religion, (then constantly used in the Earl of Bristow's house) and conforming himself to please the Spaniard, by kneeling to, and adoring their Sacraments, but gave them hope also of the Princes conversion; which caused them to propound worse Conditions for Religion, then had been formerly settled and signed by the Earl of Bristow, and Sir Walter Aston.
4. That the Duke did many times, in the presence of the Earl of Bristow, move his Majesty, at the instance of the Conde of Gondamar, to write a Letter to the Pope, which the Earl utterly dissuaded; and that, although during the Earls abode in England, he hindred the writing any such Letter, yet the Duke, after the Earls return, procured it wrote.
5. That the Pope being informed of the Dukes inclination in point of Religion, sent him a particular Bull in Parchment, therein perswading him to pervert his Majesty.

6. That

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1625.

6. That the Duke, in Spain, did abate the King of Spain, and his Ministers so, as they would not admit of a Reconciliation with him: Whereupon, seeing the Match would be to his disadvantage, he endeavoured to break it; not for any service to this Kingdome, nor dislike of it in it self; nor for that he found, (as since he hath pretended) that the Spaniard did not really intend it; but out of his particular end and indignation.

7. That he intending to cross the Match, made use of Letters of his Majesty, then private to his own ends, and not to what they were intended; as also concealed many things of great importance from his late Majesty, thereby overthrowing his Majesties purposes, and advancing his own ends.

8. That, for the foresaid ends, he hath abused both Houses of Parliament, by a sinister Relation of the carriage of Affairs, as shall be made appear in every particular of that Relation.

9. That he employed his Power with the King of Spain, for the procurement of Favours and Offices, which he bestowed upon unworthy Persons, for the recompence and hire of his lust: which is a great infamy and dishonour to our Nation; that a Duke, a Privy-Councillor and Ambassador, eminent in his Majesties favour, and solely intrusted with the person of the Prince, should leave behind him, in a forein Court, so much scandal by his ill behaviour.

10. That he hath been a great part the cause of the ruine of the Prince Palatine, and his Estate; in so much as those Affairs concern this Kingdome.

11. That he hath in his Relation to both Houses of Parliament, wronged the Earl of Bristol in his Honour, by many sinister aspersions.

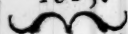
12. Lastly, that the Earl of Bristol did reveal to his late Majesty, both by Word and Letter, in what sort the Duke had mis-demeaned himself, and abused his Trust: and the King by several ways sent him word, he should rest assured, that he would bear the said Duke in due time; and that four days before his sickness, he signified to the Earl, that he would bear him against the Duke, as well as he had heard the Duke against him. And not long after the King died, having been much vexed and pressed with the said Duke.

When the Earl had ended his Charge, up starts no upstart Lord; Is this all (said he) you have to say against the Duke? The Earl replied, Yes my Lord, and I am sorry it is so much. Then quoth the Lord Spencer, if this be all, Ridiculus Mus! and so sat down again.

Lord Spencer.

Upon

An. Christi
1625.



Upon this, a crotchet took the Lord *Crommel* in the Crown, and our he goes to Mr. *Richard Spencer*, a younger Son of that Lord, and a great Zelot in the Lower-House, against the Duke : *Dick*, said he, *what is done in your House to day against the Duke ?* My Lord, (said he) *he is charged with no less then High-Treason.* Tush *Dick*, quoth the Lord, *High-Treason ! if this be all, Ridiculus Mus !*

This high and daring Challenge by the Earl, prompted the Atturney to speed his Accusation against him ; which having model'd into eleven Articles, he brought in the next day : they were, in substance these :

Articles a-
gainst the Earl
of Bristol.

First, That the said Earl being imployed by the late King *James*, as his Ambassadour unto *Ferdinando*, Emperour of *Germany* ; and unto *Philip*, the 4th. King of *Spain*, in the years 1621, 1622, and 1623. with Commission to treat with them, for the plenary restitution of the *Palatinate* to the Count *Palatine*, who married the Lady *Elizabeth*, the onely Daughter of his late Majesty ; and also to treat with the King of *Spain*, for a Marriage to be had, between his now Majesty, then Prince of *wales*, and the Lady *Donna Maria* the *Infanta* of *Spain* ; did falsly, trayterously, and confidently inform the late King, by sundry Letters, That the said Emperour, and King of *Spain*, would really make restitution of the *Dominions*, and *Electoral Dignity* of the said Count *Palatine* ; and that the said King of *Spain* did really intend the Marriage aforesaid : Whereas, in truth, the said Emperour and King, or either of them, never really intended such Restitution, and the King of *Spain* never intended the said Marriage, whereof the Earl could not be ignorant ; whereby the *Dominions*, and *Electoral Dignity* aforesaid, were utterly lost.

Secondly, That the said Earl having received from his late Majesty particular Directions, to put the King of *Spain*, to a speedy and punctual Answer, touching the *Treaties* aforesaid, did nevertheless continue those *Treaties* upon Generalities, without effectual pressing the King of *Spain* to particular Conclusions, suitable to his Instructions,

Thirdly, that the said Earl, to the intent, to discourage the late King from taking up of Arms, or entering into Hostility with the said King of *Spain*, did many times, both by word and Letters to him, and his Ministers, extoll the greatnesse and power of the King of *Spain*, and did cunningly strive to retard the late Kings Resolutions of declaring himself an Enemy to the King of *Spain*.

Fourthly

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1635.

Fourthly, That the said Earl, being told, upon his dispatch out of this Realm, that there was little probability, that these Treaties would have any good successe, he then replied; *He cared not what the successe thereof would be, for he would take care to have his Instructions perfect, and to pursue them punctually; and howsoever the businesse went, he would make his Fortunes thereby.*

Fifthly, that the said Earl, on purpose to advance the Romish Religion, did (during the time aforesaid) often by Letters, and otherwise, counsel and perswade his late Majesty, to set at liberty Jesuits and Priests of the Romish Religion, which were imprisoned, according to the Laws of the Land, and to grant the Papists a Toleration of their Religion.

Sixthly, That by the said Earls false Informations, and Intelligences given to the late King, and his now Majesty, then Prince, they were put into hopes; and, by long delays, they were put into jealousies, concerning the said Treaties, that there was not that sincerity in them which they expected: Whereupon the said Prince, his now Majesty, was enforced to undertake in his own person, a long and dangerous Journey into Spain, intending, either speedily to conclude the said Treaties, or to discover the feigned Intentions of the Emperour, and King of Spain; and thereupon to dissolve them. By which Journey, the Person of the said Prince, and, in Him, the peace and safety of this Kingdome was brought into apparent danger.

Seventhly, That, at the Prince his first coming to the said Earl in Spain, he asked the Prince, *For what he came thither?* The Prince, at first, not conceiving the Earls meaning, answered, *You know as well as I.* The Earl reply'd; *Sir, Give me leave to tell you, they say here in Madrid, that you mean to change your Religion; and added further, Sir, I do not speak this, that I will perswade you to it, or that I will promise to follow your example though you do it; but, as your faithful servant, if you will trust me with so great a secret, I will endeavour to carry it in the secretest way I can.* At which, the Prince being moved, said unto him, *I wonder what you have ever found in me, that you should conceive I would be so base, as for a wife to change my Religion?* The Earl replying, desired the Prince to pardon him, if he had offended him, saying, *It was but out of his desire to serve him:* Whereas, it had been the duty of a faithful servant to God and his Master, to have dissuaded the Prince from it, had he found him staggering in his Religion.

Eighthly, That he afterward having Conference with the Prince about the Romish Religion, trayterously, endeavoured to perswade him to turn Romish Catholique, using an Argument to that end, *That the State of England never did, nor could possibly do any great thing, but when obedient to the Pope of Rome.*

Ninthly,

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1625:

Ninthly, that during the time aforesaid, the Prince advising with the Earl, about a new Offer by the King of Spain, That the Prince Palatine should marry the Emperours Daughter, be brought up in his Court, and so should be restored to the Palatinate; The Earl said, It was a reasonable Proposition: And when the danger of changing his Religion was objected, the Earl replied, That without some such great Aid, the Peace of Christendome could never be procured.

Tenthly, That the Prince departing from Spain, and leaving the Powers of Disposorios, with the said Earl, to be delivered upon the return of his Dispensation from Rome; the Prince (fearing lest after the Dispensation, the Infanta might be put into a Monastery) wrote a Letter back to the Earl, commanding him, not to make use of those Powers, untill he could give him assurance, that a Monastery should not rob him of his Wife: which Letter, the Earl receiving, returned an Answer, dissuading that Direction. Shortly after which, the Prince sent another Letter, discharging him of his former Command. But his late Majesty, by the same Messenger, sent him a more express Direction, Not to deliver the Disposorios, untill a full conclusion had concerning the Palatinate; adding this expression, That he would never joy to marry his Son, and to leave his onely Daughter weeping. In which Dispatch, though there was some mistake; yet, in the next following, it was corrected, and the Earl tied to his former Restrictions, which he promised punctually to observe: Nevertheless, contrary to his Duty and Allegiance, he after set a day for the Disposorios, without any assurance, or so much as treating of those things to which he was restrained; and that so short a day, that if extraordinary diligence, with good successe in the Journey, had not concurred, the Princes hands might have been bound up, and yet he never sure of a Wife, nor the Prince Palatine of Restitution.

Lastly, that in an high and contemptuous manner, he hath preferred a scandalous Petition to this Honourable House, to the dishonour of the late King, and his now Majesty; especially one Article of that Petition, wherein he gives his now Majesty the Lye, by denying, and offering to falsifie; what his Majesty had affirmed.

Many good men were passing jocund at this Contest; observing, That whilest, between these Grandees, mutual malice brake out, Truth came to her own. Between men at odds, there never seemed an even Match: the Earl had, it's true, the better Head; but the Duke the better Back; but which was the better man, few standers by could determine; so equally did each Accusation ballance the other: But the Duke had yet, as
a Nobler

a Noother Adverfary, to a fiercer Conflict to undergo: For ſhortly after, the Commons having digeſted their Impeachment againſt Him, into 13. Heads, on the 8. of the ſame moneth preſented it to the Lords.

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This weighty Cauſe was managed by fix Gentlemen, Mr. Glanvil, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Selden, Mr. Pim, Mr. Wansford, Mr. Sherland, to whom was added Sir Dudley Digges, as Foreman and Prolocutor, and Sir John Elliot to bring up the Rear.

Sir Dudley Digges his Prologue, for the extraordinary elegance of the frame, and concinnets of his metaphors, I ſhall crave leave to inſert, as it was delivered to the Lords, before the Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, did preſent the 13. grievances, expreſſy this,

My Lords,

There are ſo many things of great importance to be ſaid in very little time this day, that I conceive it will not be unacceptable to your Lordſhips, if (ſetting by all Rhetorical affectations) I onely in plain Countrey language, humbly pray your Lordſhips favour to include many excuſes, neceſſary to my manifold infirmities, in this one word; I am commanded by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Commons houſe, to preſent unto your Lordſhips their moſt affectionate thanks for your ready condeſcending to this Conference; which, out of confidence in your great wiſdomes, and approved Juſtice for the ſervice of his Maſteſty, and the welfare of this Realm, they deſired upon this occaſion.

The Commons
Impeachment
againſt the
Duke.

The Houſe of Commons, by a fatal and univerſal concurrence of complaints, from all the Sea-bordering parts of this Kingdome, did find a great and grievous interruption and ſtop of Trade and Traffique. The baſe Pirates of *Sally* ignominiouſly infeſting our Coaſts, taking our ſhips and goods, and leading away the Subjects of this Kingdom into barbarous Captivity; while, to our ſhame, and hinderance of Commerce, our enemies did (as it were) beſiege our Ports, and block up our beſt Rivers mouthes; our Friends, on ſlight pretences, made embargoes of our Merchants goods, and every Nation (upon the leaſt occaſion) was ready to contemn and ſlight us: So great was the apparent diminution of the ancient honour of this Crown, and once ſtrong reputation of our Nation. Wherewith the Commons were more troubled, calling to remembrance, how, formerly in *France*, in *Spain*, in *Holland*, and every where by Sea and Land, the Valours of this Kingdome had been better valued, and even in latter times, within remembrance, when we had no Alliance with *France*, none in *Denmark*, none in Ger-

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many: no Friend in Italy; Scotland, to say no more, ununited; Ireland not settled in peace, and much lesse security at home; when Spain was as ambitious as it is now, under a King (Philip the second) they called their wisest, the House of Austria as great and potent; and both strengthened with a malicious League in France, of persons ill-affected; when the Low-coun- treys had no being; yet by constant counsels, and old English ways, even then that Spanish pride was cool'd, that greatnesse of the house of Austria, so formidable to us now, was well resisted; and to the United Provinces of the Low-Coun- treys, such a beginning, growth, and strength was given, as gave us honour over all the Christian World. The Commons therefore wondring at the Evils which they suffered, debating of the Causes of them, found they were many, drawn like one Line to one Circumference of decay of Trade, and strength of Honour, and of Reputation in this kingdome; which, as in one Centre, met in one great man, the Cause of all, whom I am here to name, the Duke of Buckingham.

Here Sir Dudley Diggs made a stand, as wondring to see the Duke present: Yet he took the Roll, and read the Preamble to the Charge, with the Duke's long Titles; and then went on,

My Lords,

This lofty Title of this mighty Man, me thinks, doth raise my spirits to speak with a *Paulo majora canamus*; and let it not displease your Lordships, if, for foundation, I compare the beautiful Structure and fair composition of this Monarchy, wherein we live, to the great Work of God, the World it self, in which the solid body of incorporated Earth and Sea, as I conceive, in regard of our Husbandry, Manufactures, and Commerce by Land and Sea, may well resemble us the Commons. And, as it is encompassed with Air, and Fire, and Spheres Celestiall of Planets, and a Firmament of fixed Stars;

All which receive their heat, light, and life, from one great glorious Sun, even like the King our Sovereign: So that Firmament of fixed Stars I take to be your Lordships; Those Planets, the great Officers of the Kingdome; That pure Element of Fire, the most religious, zealous, and pious Clergy; And the reverend Judges, Magistrates, and Ministers of Law, and Justice, the Air wherein we breath. All which encompasse round with cherishing comfort this Body of the Commons, who truly labour for them all; and though they be the Foot-stool, and the lowest, yet may well be said to be the settled Centre of the State.

Now (my good Lords) if that glorious Sun, by his powerful Beams of Grace and Favour, shall draw from the Bowels of this

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this Earth, an *Exhalation* that shall take fire, and burn and shine out like a *Star*, it needs not be marvelled at, if the poor *Commons* gaze and wonder at the *Comet*; and, when they feel the Effects, impute all to the corruptible matter of it. But if such an imperfect *Meteor* appear, like that in the last Age, in the Chair of *Cassiopea*, among the fixed Stars themselves, where *Aristotle*, and the old Philosphers, conceived there was no place for such corruption; then, as the learned *Mathematicians* were troubled to observe the irregular motions, the prodigious magnitude, and the ominous Prognosticks of that *Meteor*; so the *Commons*, when they see such a *Blazing-Star*, in course so-exorbitant, in the Affairs of this Common-wealth; cannot but look up upon it, and for want of Perspectives commend the nearer Examination to your *Lordships*, who may behold it at a better distance. Such a prodigious *Comet*, the *Commons* take this Duke of *Buckingham* to be: against whom, and his irregular ways, there are, by learned Gentlemen, legal *Articles of Charge*, to be delivered to your *Lordships*, which I am, generally, first commanded to lay open.

First, the *Offices* of this Kingdome, that are the eyes, the ears, and the hands of this Common-wealth, these have been engrossed, bought and sold, and many of the greatest of them, holden even in this Duke's own hands, which severally gave in former Ages sufficient content to greatest *Favourites*, and were work enough for the wisest Counsellors: by means whereof, what strange abuses, what infinite neglects have followed? The Seas have been unguarded, Trade disturbed, Merchants oppressed, their Ships, and even one of the Royal-Navie, by cunning practice, delivered over into forain hands; and, contrary to our good Kings intention, imployed to the prejudice (almost to the ruine) of friends of our own *Religion*.

Next, *Honours*, (those most precious Jewels of the *Crown*) a Treasure inestimable, wherewith your Noble Ancestors (my *Lords*) were well rewarded, for eminent and publique service in the Common-wealth at home; for brave exploits abroad, when covered all with dust and blood, they sweat in service for the honour of this *Crown*. What back-ways, what by-ways have been by this Duke found out, is too well known to your *Lordships*; whereas anciently it was the honour of *England*, (as among the *Romans*) the way to the Temple of *Honour*, was through the Temple of *Virtue*. But I am commanded to presse this no further, then to let your *Lordships* know, one instance may (perhaps) be given of some one *Lord* compelled to purchase Honour.

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Thirdly, as divers of the Duke's poor kindred have been raised to great Honours, which have been, and are likely to be more, chargeable and burthensome to the Crown; so the Lands and Revenues, and the Treasuries of his *Majesty* have been intercepted and exhausted by this Duke & his friends, and strangely mis-employed with strange confusion of the Accompts, and overthrow of the well established ancient Orders of his *Majesties* Exchequer.

The last of the *Charges* which are prepared, will be an injury offered to the person of the late *King* of blessed memory, who is with God; of which (as your Lordships may have heard heretofore) you shall anon have farther information. Now upon this occasion, I am commanded by the Commons to take care of the Honour of the King our Sovereign that lives, (long may he live to our comfort, and the good of the Christian world) and also of his blessed Father, who is dead; on whom, to the grief of the Commons, and their great distaste, the Lord Duke did, they conceive, unworthily cast some ill ordure of his own foul ways. Whereas, Servants were anciently wont to bear (as in truth they ought) their *Masters* faults, and not cast their own on them undeservedly. It is well known, the King (who is with God) had the same power, and the same wisdom, before he knew this Duke; yea, and the same affections too, through which (as a good and gracious *Master*) he advanced and raised some Stars of your Lordships Firmament, in whose hands this exorbitancy of Will, this transcendency of Power, such placing and displacing of Officers, such irregular running into all by-courses of the Planets, such sole and single managing of the great Affairs of State, was never heard of.

And therefore, onely to the Lord Duke, and his procurement, by mis-informations, these faults, complained of, by the Commons, are to be imputed.

And for our most gracious Sovereign that lives, whose name hath bin used, and may perhaps now be, for the Dukes justification, The *Commons* know well, that among his *Majesties* most royal vertues, his Piety unto his Father, hath made him a pious Nourisher of his Affections ever to this Lord Duke, on whom, out of that consideration, his *Majesty* hath wrought a kinde of wonder, making *Favour* hereditary. But the abuse thereof must be the Lord Duke's own. And if there have been any Commands, such as were or may be pretended, his mis-informations have procured them; whereas the Laws of *England* teach us, that Kings cannot command ill or unlawful things when ever they speak, though by their Letters-Patents, or their Seals; if the thing be evil, these Letters Patents are void, and whatsoever ill event

event succeeds, the Executioners, of such Commands must ever answer for them.

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Thus, my Lords, in performance of my duty, my weaknesse hath been troublesome unto your Lordships: It is now high time, humbly to intreat your pardon, and give way to a learned Gentleman to begin a more particular Charge.

Sir Dudley Diggs his Prologue being ended, the Impeachment it self of the Commons, was next read; which I shall adjourn a while, being desirous to take the Duke's Defence along with it.

The Commons having presented this Accusation, presently after sent a message to the Lords, desiring that the Duke might be committed, declaring, that it did mis-beseem their House to permit a man so deeply impeacht to sit in Council with them: The Court-party, who had nimble Intelligencers, understood this Design from the very first Result, and plotted, to treat the Commons, with uniform proceedings. For, at that very time, Sir Dudley Diggs, and Sir John Elliot, were sent for out of the House, by two messengers of the Chamber; who, upon their coming forth, shew'd them Warrants for their Commitment to the Tower; but it was resolved by the Judges, that by their restraint, (no reason being given to the House for it) the whole House was arrested, and Remonstrance was made to the King, of their priviledge; whereupon they were released.

Sir Dudley Diggs
and Sir John
Elliot committed
to the
Tower.

The Commons having sped so well, the House of Peers began to claim their immunity, making an Order, that nothing should be transacted in their House, untill the Earl of Arundel were restored: upon which, instantly ensued the Earls postlimination and readmittance.

The Earl of
Arundel dis-
charged of his
Imprisonment

Popular disgust began now to break in upon the Duke, with such a running and sweeping tide, as drew along with it, by way of concomitancy, the Peerage; nor could his new Dependents and Allies keep the Ballance horizontal and even, much lesse sway it; and because his Fate must result from them, and not by weight, but tale, the old trick of the Council of Trent was thought upon, and a new Summons of Persons, firm confidents of the Duke (as the Lords, Mandevill, Grandison, and Carlton) into the Rowe of Nobles.

But this Project would not take, for the House of Lords found an ancient Order, That no Lords created, *sedente Parlamento*, shall have Voices during that Session, but onely shall have priviledge of sitting amongst the rest: upon which, their suffrage was excluded.

This

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The Duke sequestred from the House of Lords.

This gave the Duke a taste (a bitter one) of their Inclinations; so that finding small favour to trust to, he magnanimously stood upon his Justification. And having moulded his Defence to his contentment, June the 8. he presented it to the Lords, who, upon receipt thereof, sequestred him from sitting any more as a Peer of the House, untill his cause was determined; whereupon he went away much dejected. To that Defence, as also to the Impeachment of the Commons, this place I have assigned for, I hope, no incommodious quarters, where I shall so exhibit them parallel, that the Reader may the better compare, and apply them, as they relate each to other; and, consequently, pass the more discerning judgment upon them.

The Commons Impeachment and Declaration against the Duke of Buckingham.

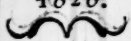
FOR the speedy redress of the great Evils and Mischiefs, and of the chief Causes of those Evils and Mischiefs, which this Kingdome of *England* now grievously suffereth, and of late years hath suffered, and to the honour and safety of our Sovereign Lord the King, and of his *Crown* and *Dignities*, and to the good and welfare of his *People*; the *Commons* in this present *Parliament*, by the authority of our said Sovereign Lord the King assembled, do by this their *Bill* shew, and declare against *George, Duke, Marquess, and Earl of Buckingham, Earl of Coventry, Viscount Villers, Baron* of

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of *Whaddon* ; Great *Admiral* of the Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland* , and of the *Principality* of *Wales*, and of the *Dominions* and *Ilands* of the same, of the *Town* of *Calais*, and of the *Marches* of the same , and of *Normandy*, *Gascoigne*, and *Guyen* ; General *Gouvernour* of the *Seas* and *Ships* of the said Kingdomes ; Lieutenant *General*, *Admiral*, *Captain-General* and *Gouvernour* of his *Majesties* *Royal-Fleet* and *Army*, lately set forth ; *Master* of the *Horses* of our *Sovereign Lord* the *King* ; *Lord Warden*, *Chancellor* and *Admiral* of the *Cinque-ports* , and of the *Members* thereof ; *Constable* of *Dover Castle* ; *Iustice* in *Eyre* of all *Forrests* and *Chases* on this side of the *River* of *Trent*, *Constable* of the *Castle* of *Windsor* ; *Lieutenant* of *Middlesex* and *Buckingham-Shire* ; *Steward* and *Bayliff* of *Westminster* ; *Gentleman* of His *Majesties* *Bed-chamber* , and one of his *Majesties* *Honourable Privie-Council*, in his *Realms* , both of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* ; and *Knight* of the most *Noble Order* of the *Gar-ter*.

*The Misdemeanours , Misprisions,
Offences,*

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Offences, Crimes, and other matters comprised in the Articles following: And him the said Duke do accuse, and impeach of the said Misdemeanours, Misprisions, Offences, and Crimes.

ARTIC. I.

His engrossing great Offices,

That he the said Duke, being young and unexperienced, hath of late years with exorbitant ambition; and, for his own advantage, procured and engrossed into his own hands, severall great Offices, both to the danger of the State, and prejudice of that service which should have bin performed in them; and to the discouragement of others, who are thereby precluded from such hopes, as their virtues, abilities, and publique Employments might otherwise have obtained.

II.

By buying the place of Admiralty.

That in the 16. year. of the Reign of the late King, he did give and pay to the then Earl of Nottingham, for the Office of Great Admiral of England, and Ireland, and of the Principality of Wales, and Generall Governour of the Seas, and Ships of the said Kingdomes, and for the surrender of the said Offices, to the intent, the said Duke might obtain them

The Duke's 1. Reply.

That his late Majesty did of his own Royall Motion bestow them upon him, and he hopeth, and conceiveth, he may without blame receive, what his bountifull Master conferred upon him, if the Common-wealth doth not suffer thereby. Nor without precedents, that men eminent in the esteem of their Sovereign, have held as great and many Offices as himself. But if it shall be proved, that he falsly, or corruptly hath executed those Offices, he is, and will be ready to resign them with his life and fortunes to his Majesties dispose.

Reply 2.

That the Earl of Nottingham, then Lord Admiral, being grown much in years, and finding himself not so fit nor able to perform what appertained to his place, as formerly; became an earnest suitor to his late Majesty, to permit him to surrender up his Office; who, at length, being overcome by the Earls many solicitations condescended thereunto; and his late Majesty, at the entreaty

to his own use, the summe of 3000 l. and did also procure for the said surrender from the late King, an Annuity of 1000 l. per annum, payable to the said Earl; for which considerations, the said Earl surrendered the said Office, with his Letters Patents, unto the late King, who granted them to the said Duke for his life: which is an Offence, contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, those Offices so highly concerning the Administration, and Execution of Justice.

argument of his Honourable respects, to so Noble a Predecessor, send the Earl three thousand pounds, which he hopeth is not blame-worthy in him.

III.

That he the said Duke, in the 22. year of the late King, did give and pay unto Edward Lord Zouch, for the Offices of the Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle, the sum of One thousand pounds; and granted also an Annuity of 500 l. per annum, during his life; and that for the consideration aforeaid, the said L. Zouch did surrender his Offices, and Letters Patents, to the late King, who granted them to the said Duke for his life: which Offices (so highly concerning the Administration of Justice) the Duke hath ever since held against the Laws of the Land.

entreaty of others, without the Dukes privacy, was also persuaded to confer it upon the Duke, much against his Will, he being no way experienced in those Affairs; so that the Earl did freely surrender, and the Duke accept the grant of the said Office, without any the least contract or proviso. But true it is, that his late Majesty, out of his Royall Bounty, did grant to the said Earl a Pension of 1000 l. per annum, as a Recompence for his former service to the Crown; and also the Duke himself did freely and voluntarily, with his late Majesties approbation, as an Argument of his Honourable respects, to so Noble a Predecessor, send the Earl three thousand pounds, which he hopeth is not blame-worthy in him.

Reply 3.

That the Lord Zouch being grown in years, and unfit to manage the Office of the Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Constable of Dover Castle; which are, indeed, both but one, discovered a willingness to surrender it, and made severall Offers thereof to the Duke of Richmond; who, at last, contracted with the said Lord Zouch for his surrender, for the consideration of 1000 l. in money, and 500 l. per annum; and the said Duke of Richmond being prevented by death, his late Majesty directed the Duke of Buckingham, to go through with the Lord Zouch for it, upon the same terms, which he was the willing to do, by reason he had found by experience, that the Kings service suffered much

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And Lord
Warden of
the Cinque
Ports

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Not guarding
the Seas.

Stay of the
S. Peter of
New-Haven.

much through the emulation, as affection, and contention, arising between those two Officers; and he hopeth this Act of his, in acquiring this Office, accompanied with such circumstances, the King also being both privie, and directing it, will receive a favourable Construction; especially considering, he was altogether unacquainted with any Law to the contrary.

IV.

That he hath neglected the just execution of those his offices, and violated the Trust reposed in, and committed to him by them; in so much, as through his neglect, the trade of this Kingdome hath been of late much decayed, and the Seas ignominiously infested with Pirats and Enemies, to the great losse of both Ships and Goods, and limminent danger of this Kingdome.

by Treaty, or to repress them by force, as will give good satisfaction; and this will clearly appear upon proof.

V.

That, whereas about Michaelmas last, a Ship called the St. Peter of New-Haven, laden with divers Merchants Jewels, and Commodities, to the value of 40000 l. or thereabout, for the proper account of Monsieur de Villeurs, then Governour of New-Haven, was taken by the Ships of his Majesties late Fleet, and brought into the Port of Plymouth, as a Prize, upon probability that the said Ship or Goods belonged to the Subjects of the King of Spain; whereupon there was an ar-

Reply 4.

That the loss happening to the Kings Subjects by Pirats and Enemies, hath not proceeded through the Dukes default, as is suggested; but because those Pirats ships are built of a mould as fit for flight as for fight; being far too nimble for the Kings Ships. To prevent which inconvenience, for the time to come, there is present order taken for the building of Ships of the same shape with those of Dunkirk, and for the Pirats of Sally; that provision is taken either to restrain

Reply 5.

That complaint being made on the behalf of some French men at the Council-Table, concerning the St. Peter, and some other ships; His Majesty then present did order that she and all other should be released, as were found to belong to any Prince or State in amity with him; provided, they were not fraudulently coloured. And accordingly, this ship was by sentence in the Admiralty discharged. But within few dayes after, new information came to the Lord Admiral, that this ship was laden by the Subjects of the King of Spain in Spain, that the Amiran-

rect of two *English* ships at *New-Haven* in the Kingdome of *France*: after which, intimation was given to the Advocate in the chief Court of Admiralty, from his Majesty, by Secretary *Coke*, for the freeing and discharge of the said ship, and goods; and thereupon, by Commission under Seal, the said ship and goods were released. The said Duke, notwithstanding any such order, and Decree, detained still to his own use, the Gold, Silver, Pearl, Jewels, and other Commodities, so taken out of the said ship, and unjustly caused the said ship to be arrested again, in contempt of the Laws of this Land, and to the prejudice of Trade.

the testimonies produced, the Kings Advocate informing the Duke, that the proof came short for that ship, the Duke did instantly give order for her final discharge, and that all her goods should be re-imbarqued to the Owners; which was done accordingly.

VI.

That the *East-India* Merchants, in the 21. of the late Kings Reign, preparing to set forth four great ships richly laden in their usuall course of Trade, the Duke moved the Lords then assembled in Parliament, to know whether he should make stay of those ships for the service of the State: which motion, being approved by the Lords, the Duke accordingly did stay those ships; and after procured a joynt Action to be en-

Amirantello wasted her beyond the North Cape, and that Witnesses were ready to attest as much: upon which, the Duke acquainted his Majesty therewith, and by his command, made stay of this ship, as he was assured (by the opinion of the Kings, and five other Advocates) he might do: and command was given to the Kings Advocate, to hasten the Examination of Witnesses, in pursuance of the new information. But the French Merchants, impatient of delays, which the producing many Witnesses would occasion, complained again to the Council-board, and obtained an Order from thence, for the delivery of the said Ship and Goods, upon security; which security was once offered, but after retracted; yet upon consideration of

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Reply 6.

That the motion in Parliament, about the stay of the *East-India* ships, was onely upon apprehension, that they might be serviceable for the defence of the Realm. That the Action entred in the Court of Admiralty, against the *East-India* Company, was not after, (as is suggested) but divers moneths before that motion in Parliament; yea, before the Parliament began. That the composition (mentioned in this Article) was not moved by the Duke, but made by the late King,

And of the
East-India
Fleet.

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tered in the Court of Admiralty in the name of the late King, and himself, as Lord Admirall, against 15000 li. pretended to be Pyratically taken by some Captains of the said Merchants ships, and in the hands of the said Captains: and accordingly, an Attachment was served upon the said Merchants. Whereupon the said Merchants being urged to bring in the 15000 li. or to go to Prison, made new suit to the Duke, for the release of their ships, who pretending that the Parliament must be moved therein, the Merchants much perplexed, and considering that they should lose much by unlading their ships, and the losse of their voyage; resolved to tender to the said Duke ten thousand pounds for his unjust demand, who by colour of his Office extorted and exacted from them the said ten thousand pounds; and upon receipt thereof, and not before, released the said ships.

VII.

That the Duke, being Great Admirall of England, did by colour of the said Office, procure one of the principall ships of the Navie-Royal, called the *Vant-guard*, and six other Merchants ships of great burthen, to be conveyed over with all their Ordnance, Ammunition, and Apparell, into the Kingdome of France; and

and that the Company, without any menaces, or compulsion, agreed to the Composition, as willing to give so much, rather then to abide the hazard of the Suit. That of the said sum, all but two hundred pounds, was employed by his late Majesties Officers for the benefit of the Navie. And lastly, that those ships were not discharged upon payment of the said sum of ten thousand pounds, but upon an accommodation allowed, that they should prepare other ships for his Majesties service, whilst they went on their Voyage; which accordingly they did.

Reply 7.

That those Ships were lent to the French King without his price; that when he knew thereof he did what happened to his Office. That he did not by menace, or any undue practice by himself, or any other, deliver those ships into the hands of the French: that what error hath since happened, was not in the intention, any way injurious to the State, nor pre-

Lending of
the *Vant-guard*
to the French.

did compell the said Masters and Owners of the said ships, to deliver the said ships into

prejudicial to the interest of any private man.

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the possession and command of the French King, and his Ministers, without either sufficient security for their delivery, or necessary caution in that behalf, contrary to the duty of his Office, and to the apparent weakning of the Naval strength of this Kingdome.

VIII.

Reply 8.

That the Duke, knowing the said ships were intended to be employed against the *Rochellers*, and the Protestants else-where, did compell them as aforesaid, to be delivered unto the said French King, and his Ministers; to the end, that they might be employed against those of the Reformed Religion, as accordingly they were; to the prejudice of the said Religion, contrary to the intention of our Sovereign Lord the King, and to his former promise at Oxford; and to the great scandall of our Nation.

That understanding a discovery that those ships should be employed against Rochel, he endeavoured to divert the course of such employment: and whereas it is alleadged, that he promised at Oxford, that these ships should not be so employed, he under favour saith, he was mis-understood, for he onely said, that the event would shewit, being confident in the promises of the French King, and that he would have really performed what was agreed upon.

To be employed against Rochel.

IX.

Reply 9.

That he hath enforced some who were rich (though unwilling) to purchase honours: as the Lord Roberts, Baron of Truro, who was by menaces wrought to pay the summe of Ten thousand pounds to the said Duke, and to his use, for his said Barony.

He denieth any such compulsion of the Lord Roberts to buy his honour, and that he can prove, that as the said Lord did then obtain it by the solicitation of others, so was he willing formerly to have given a great sum for it.

Selling of Honours.

X.

Reply 10.

That in the 18. year of the late King, he did procure of the late King, the Office of

That he had not, nor did receive any penny of the said sum to his own use, that the Lord Mandevil

And Offices.

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1626.

High-Treasurer of England, to the Vicount Mandevill, now Earl of Manchester, for which Office he received of the said Vicount, to his own use, the sum of 20000 li. of money; and also did procure in the 20. year of the late King, the Office of Master of the Wards and Liveries for Sir Lionel Cranfield, afterward Earl of Middlesex; and as a reward for the said procurement, he had to his own use, of the said Sir Lionel Cranfield, the sum of 6000 l. contrary to the dignity of his late Majesty.

Majesty (without the Dukes privy) who had and enjoyed it all entire.

Mandevill was made Lord Treasurer by his late Majesty, without any contract for it; and though his Majesty did after borrow of the said Lord 20000. pounds, yet was it upon proviso of repayment, for which the Duke at first past his word, and after enred him security by Land, which sord engaged, untill his late Majesty, during the Dukes being in Spain, gave the Lord satisfaction by Land in Fee-farm of a considerable value, whereupon the Duke's security was returned back. And that the 6000 li. disbursed by the Earl of Middlesex, was bestowed upon Sir Henry Mildmay by his late

XI.

That he hath procured divers Honours for his Kindred and Allies, to the prejudice of the ancient Nobility, and disabling the Crown from rewarding extraordinary virtues in future times.

Reply 11.

That he believeth he were rather worthily to be condemned in the opinion of all generous minds if being in such favour with his Majesty, he had minded onely his own advancement, and had neglected those whom the Law of Nature had obliged him to hold most dear.

XII.

That he procured and obtained of the late King divers Mannors, parcels of the Revenues of the Crown, to an exceeding great value, and hath received, and (to his own use) disbursed great sums of money, that did properly belong unto the late King: and the better to colour his doings, hath

Reply 12.

That he doth humbly, and with all thankfulness, acknowledge his late Majesties bountifull hand to him, and shall be ready to render back into the hands of his now Majesty whatsoever he hath received, together with his life, to do him service. But for the value suggested in the charge, he saith there is a great mistake in

Procuring honours for his Kindred.

Diminishing the Revenues of the Crown.

hath obtained severall privie Seals from his late Majesty, and his Majesty that now is, warranting the payment of great sums of money by him, as if such sums were directed for secret service of the State, when as they were disposed of to his own use; and hath gotten into his hands great sums, which were intended by the late King, for the furnishing and victualing of the Navy-Royal, to the exceeding diminution of the Revenues of the Crown, to the deceiving and abusing of his late, and now Majesty, and detriment of the whole kingdom.

XIII.

Lastly, that he being a sworn servant of the late King, did cause and provide certain Plaisters and Potions for his late Majesty, in his last sickness, without the privy of his Majesties Physicians; and that although those Plaisters and Potions, formerly applied, produced such ill effects, as many of his sworn Physitians did disallow, as prejudiciall to his Majesties health; yet nevertheless did the Duke apply them again to his Majesty; whereupon great distempers, and dangerous symptomes appeared in him, which the Physitians imputed to those administrations of the Duke, whereof his late Majesty also complained: which was an offence and misdemeanour of so high a nature, as may be called an act

in the calculation, as he shall make evident in a Schedule annexed, to which he referreth himself. Nor did he obtain the same by any undue sollicitation or practice, nor yet a Release for any sums so received. But having several times, and upon severall occasions, disposed divers sums of his late, and now Majesty, by their private directions, he hath Releases thereof for his discharge, which was honourable in them to grant, and not unfit for him to desire and accept, for his future indemnity.

Reply 13.

That his late Majesty being sick of an Ague, a disease out of which the Duke recovered not long before, asked the Duke what he found most advantageous to his health; the Duke replied, a Plaster and Posset-drink, administered to him by the Earl of Warwick's Physician; whereupon the King much desired the Plaster and Posset-drink to be sent for. And the Duke delaying it, he commanded a servant of the Dukes to go for it, against the D. earnest request, he humbly craving his Majesty not to make use of it, without the advice of his own Physicians, and experiment upon others; which the King said he would do, and in confidence thereof the Duke left him, and went to London. And in the mean time, he being absent, the said Plaster and Posset drink were brought; and at the Dukes

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1626.

His applying
Physick to K.
James.

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act of transcendent presumption. And the said Commons by Protestation, saving to themselves the liberties of exhibiting hereafter any other accusation or impeachment against the Duke, and also of replying unto what the Duke shall answer unto the said Article, do pray that the said Duke may be put to answer all and every the premises, and that such Proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, and Judgments, may be upon every of them had, as is agreeable to Law and Justice.

This being the plain, clear, and evident truth of all those things which are contained in that Charge, He humbly referreth it to the judgments of your Lordships, how full of danger and prejudice it is, to give too ready an ear, and too easie a belief unto a Report or Testimony, without Oath, which are not of weight enough to condemn any.

Also, he humbly acknowledgeth, how easie it was for him in his young ears, and unexperienced, to fall into thousands of errors in those ten years, wherein he had the honour to serve so great, and so open hearted a Sovereign Master.

But the fear of Almighty God, his sincerity in the true Religion established in the Church of England, (though accompanied with many weaknesses and imperfections, which he is not ashamed humbly and heartily to confesse) his awfulness not willing to offend so good and gracious a Master, and his love and duty to his Countrey, have restrained and preserved him (he hopeth) from running into any heinous misdemeanours and crimes.

But whatsoever upon examination and mature deliberation, they shall appear to be, left in any thing unwittingly, within the compasse of so many years, he shall have offended;

He humbly prayeth your Lordships, not onely in those, but to all the said misdemeanours, misprisions, offences, and crimes where-

Dukes return, his Majesty commanded the Duke to give him the Posse-drink; which he did, the Physicians, then present, not seeming to mislike it. Afterward the Kings health declining, and the Duke hearing a rumour, as if his Physick had done his Majestie hurt, and that he had administered Physick without advice; the Duke acquainted the King therewith, who in much discontent replied, They are worse then Devils that say so.

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1626.

wherewith he standeth charged before your Lordships, to allow unto him the benefit of the free and general Pardon, granted by his late Majesty in Parliament, in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, out of which he is not excepted. And also, of the gracious Pardon of his now Majesty to the said Duke; and vouchsafed, in like manner, to all his Subjects, at the time of his most happy Inauguration and Coronation; which said Pardon, under the Great Seal of England, and granted to the said Duke, beareth date the tenth day of February now last past, and so here shewed forth unto your Lordships, on which he doth humbly relie.

And yet he hopeth, that your Lordships in your Justice and Honour (upon which confidence he putteth himself) will acquit him of, and from those misdemeanours, offences, misprisions, and crimes wherewith he hath been charged.

And he hopeth, and will daily pray, that, for the future, he shall by Gods grace so watch all his actions, both public and private, that he shall not give any just offence to any.

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1626.

The Parlia-
ment dissol-
ved.

Arundel and
Brislow con-
fined.

The King
charged with
imprudence.

The Charge
Answered.

This Answer of the Duke, to his Impeachment, was a kind of new grievance to his Adversaries; for it being contrived, and so inlay'd with modesty and humility, it was like to have a powerful influence towards the Conversion of many, who expected a defence of another and more disdainful spirit. Again, it seemed to state him in impunity; and the *Commons* having charged him, as they thought, through and through, loath they were to fall short of Victory; and having pursued him with such vehemency, thought themselves worsted, should he now at last make a saving Game of it, therefore resolved they were to ply him with a speedy Reply: But while they were hammering of it, the *King* sent them a Letter, demanding, without further delay, the speedy producing of their Bill of Subsidy to be passed: To which, to prevent their dissolution, they conformed. But first, they had drawn up a *Declaration*, of the same make and mind with their former Impeachment, of the miserable state of this Kingdome; and not without some high contest, it was allowed by the House, before the Bill of Subsidy. Whereupon his Majesty was so exceedingly incensed, as on the very next day, being *June* the 15, he dissolved the Assembly, though the Lords sent four of their House unto him, beseeching him earnestly he would permit them to sit but two dayes longer; but he answered, *Not a minute.*

The same Afternoon the Earl of *Brislow*, the Dukes grand Persecutor, was committed to the Tower, and the Earl of *Arundel* confined to his own house. There came also forth, from his Majesty, a Proclamation, for burning of all Copies of the *Commons Declaration*, made before the Parliaments dissolution.

This Rupture of the Parliament, being supposed to issue from the *Kings* great Affection to the Duke, I finde him charged with Deep *Imprudence*, and high over-sight, to hazard the love of millions for him onely.

Loath I am to leave him, as I finde him, and hope this suggested Imprudence will either totally disappear, or seem much less, if we well weigh those high obligations all Princes have, and what he had more then many others, to uphold their Favourites.

It is, and ever was, the perpetuall Lot of those who are of choicest admission into Princes favours, to feel as strong Strokes of Envie and Ill-will from beneath, as they do Strokings of Grace and Favour from above; whereby they suffer a kind of Persecution, it being the main businesse

business of those who maligne them, to be narrow Inquisitors into all their Actions, ready to aggravate the worst, and to traduce the best; nor scape they so, but over and besides their proper failings, they usually bear the blame and odium of their Masters faults: upon which Consideration, Princes are in some sort tyed in equity to support them, thereby to compensate and make them some amends for what despight they endure upon the score of their affection to them. Again, should a *King* desert and abandon a servant of such choice esteem, upon every slight suggestion, what can he expect, but a generall backsliding of affection and fidelity from him, and an utter declining of his service ever after? These are motives of generall concernment; over and besides which, *King Charles* had others of more peculiar relation. He did not discern any thing in the accriminations of so horrid import, as might blemish his owning him. His accumulated Offices and Honours, he reputed so far from an offence, as he could scarce think them an error; and he believed hardly one of a million would have declined, or resisted the temptation of those Royal Tenders, had they been in the Dukes case. And, for his study to advance his neer Relations, he might most worthily have been counted a Monster, and an extravagancy in Nature, had he cast off all regard of those, to whom he was by consanguinity so near annexed.

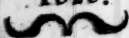
Lastly, his Majesty took notice, that in all those 13. Articles of Impeachment, there was not any thing of value, but what was acted and happened in the Reign of his late Father, and consequently, not legally cognoscible in his time: Nor did he think it sorted with his Honour, to admit an Accusation against a Person so dear, both to his Father of blessed memory, and himself, after so many years elapsed; especially considering, that since the time of his pretended Delinquency, he was honoured by many of his now Accusers, with the acclamation of the *Preserver of his Countrey*, and that in open Parliament; so odd a turn of passion is there in the minds of men.

These were the inducements which fixt the King so much in the Dukes Protection, which are here delivered out of a desire to expunge that blemish of Imprudence thrown upon his Majesty, not as a Concession of his dissolving the Parliament upon the account of that Protection onely; for the King had other Provocations, which stimulated him also to it. Those *Queries* of *Dr. Turner*, and that expression of *Mr. Coke*, the King relented as insolent, and so represented them to the Parliament; very hot they were of the Spice, and had more Pepper then Salt in them.

An. Christi,
1626.

of Edward A.
of Charles B.
of James C.

An. Christi,
1626.



In subconsulary *Rome, Athens, or Sparta*, they might have bin tolerated; but in a State founded upon the Administration of *Monarchy*, those small sparks of Animosity, had fire enough in them to kindle and inflame the anger of a mild Prince: for nothing irritateth and causeth the wrath of Kings more then disrespect; as nothing gives them splendor and brightnesse but Authority, whereof, if Sovereignty be once dismantled, once stript, she is soon trampled upon, scorned and contemned: And though those speeches did not take their aim directly at his Majesty, yet did they by-glance and obliquely deeply wound him. They that make Princes minions the *But* or *Mark* of their Accusations, had need have a very steady hand; for it is very difficult to asperse persons so near the Throne, but some drops will sprinkle upon Majesty it self. Nor had those disordered heats power enough of themselves, to operate so sad an effect, had they not been seconded by a Declaration of the whole House, of the same meal, and leaven'd with Language of equal disgust to the King.

A strange Spectacle upon the Thames.

On the *Munday* before this dolefull disaster, there happened a terrible and prodigious spectacle upon the *Thames*. The water near *Lambeth-Marsh* began about three of the clock in the afternoon to be very turbulent; and, after a while, rising like a mist, it appeared in a circular form of about ten yards diameter, and about ten foot elevated from the River. This *Cataract*, or Spout of Waters, was carried impetuously crosse the River, and made a very furious Assault upon the Garden walls of *York house* (where the *Duke* was then building his new Water stairs) at length, after a fierce Attempt, it brake asunder, sending up a fuliginous and dusky smoak, like that issuing out of a *Brewers Chimney*, which ascended as high, as was well discernible, and so vanisht. And at that very instant, there was in the *City of London*, so dreadfull a storm of Rain and Hail, with Thunder and Lightning, as a great part of the Church-yard Walls of *St. Andrews Church* in *Holborn* fell down; and divers Graves being thereby discovered, many Coffins tumbled into the middle of the Channel.

Difference between England and France.

Not many days after, occur'd another sight lesse terrible, not lesse strange to the Beholders; and the more strange, because relating to *Letters*, it happened so great a Scene of Learning, as an Academy. For on the 23. of this moneth, a *Cod-fish* brought from *Lin-Regis* in *Norfolk*, to *Can-bridge-market*, and there exposed to sale, the Woman who bought it, as the fashion is, ript it up, intending to cast away the bowels; but in the maw thereof, she spy'd something, she knew not what, wrapt up in Canvasse; this bred the curiosity of a further search; whereupon she unfolds the Canvasse, and discovers a Book in

Sixtens

Sixteens contained therein; comprehending three Treaties, compiled by the Blessed Martyr Mr. John Frith, who suffered, Anno 1533, the Cover and Verges of the Leaves (an infallible Argument against Imposture) being much decocted, digested, and wasted in the *Maw*.

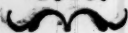
It will not be amiss now to crosse the Seas, and to take a view of our Kings Affairs, which began to be sullen, of an uniform, and not much differing complexion from those at home, many Indications and Overtures of discontent emerging between himself, and his chief Confederate and Brother Lewis of France, whereby the former Amity, notwithstanding many Lenitives applyed, was enforced at length to yield to direct hostility. In the provocation, Lewis was the first, Charles, in the quarrel. The leading occasion, this,

During the late Treaty of Marriage between England and France, Lewis pretending a Martial Design against Italy, and the *Valioline*, entreated and obtained of King James the Loan of the *Vanguard*, a parcel of the Navy-Royall, and (with the Owners consent) of six Merchants ships more. But it being rumour'd, that Lewis intended these ships against *Rochel*, then revolted from him, King James (who resolved to preserve himself Neuter in that businesse, liking the *Rochellers* Religion too well to offend them, and their Cause too ill to protect them) put in expresse caution, that those ships should not be employed against the *Rochellers*. But before their ships put forth to Sea (soon after King James died) Lewis and the *Rochellers* (at the instance of King Charles by his two Ambassadors, the Earl of Holland, and Sir Dudley Carleton) came to an accord. This Pacification gave Lewis advantage of enterprising upon the *Valioline* with greater, both Power and Expedition; and invited Charles to dispatch the English ships for France: But no sooner arrived they at their Port, then that Nest of Wasps at *Rochel* began to infest King Lewis again, for *Subize*, (upon pretence that the King had not kept touch with them in slighting *Fort-Lewes*) following his old Trade, took the opportunity of the advance of the French Army for Italy, and a *l'improviste*, before they were aware, surprised the Isle of *Rhe*, then incuriously guarded (so in-secure did overmuch security make them) seized many ships in the Harbour, and had fair for the taking of *Fort-Lewes*, had not the Duke of *Vendosme* posted thither with relief. Lewis finding them of the *Revolt*, lapsed into their wonted insolency, began to rouse again, put to Sea all the ships he could procure, sends to the Dutch for Naval Aid, and demanded of Captain Pennington the delivery of the English ships, agreeable to his Masters Promise: The Captain replied, He took no notice of any such Promise, nor of any other Agreement with the King his Master,

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1626.

Seven English
ships lent to
the French.

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Master, then of taking in a chief Commander, and a competent number of Souldiers, not superiour to the English, and to go upon such employment, as his Christian Majesty should direct, which, he said, he was ready to do: but to deliver up the Ships, without expresse Order from his Master, were a presumptuous, yea, a treasonable act in him.

The King of France perceiving the Captain so incompilant, courted and tempted him with ample promises of advancement, and the proffer of large sums of ready money; and finding him still intractable, he proceeded to protest against him as a Traytor to his King; which Protest, so irritated and urged the English Sea-men, then under his Command, as they instantly, in a fury, weighed Anchor, and set sail for the Downs: from whence, the Captain sending to our King, for a further signification of his pleasure; his Majesty rather willing to submit to the hazard of Lewes his breach of Faith, then to the blame of receding from his own pollicitation, returned answer, that *His Will was, that he should consign up his own, and the six Merchant Ships to the service of his Brother.*

Misapplied to
the offence at
Rochel.

This Order soon elicited obedience in Captain Penington, and the residue, so as they all rendred up their charge to the French. With the Conjunction of these seven English, and a Squadron of twenty Dutch, under the Command of Admiral Halstein, with his own Navy, conducted by Montmorency, Lewes brake furiously in upon Subize the Stasiarch, the chief Rebel, forceth him from his strength, reprizeth many ships formerly taken by him, and so impetuously chaseth him, as he, with much difficulty, escaped to the Isle of Oleron. Our King having advice of the mis-employment of his Ships, repugnant to their prime destination, by compromise and mutuall Contract, sent an expostulatory message to his Brother, demanding the cause of this violation of his Royall Parole; and, withall, requiring the restitution of his Ships.

To the breach of Promise, the French King returned answer, That the Rochellers had first temerated, and sleighted their Faith with him, and that necessity enforced him, to use all means to impede the progress of so great disloyalty, which he could not well do, without the Aid of the English Ships, his own Fleet being upon other service: As to the restitution of the Ships, he replied, That his Subjects, by whom they were mann'd, held them contrary to his minde, and therefore wisht his Brother would come by them as he could. King Charles would have none of this Answer; and while he pressed for a better, he occasioned it, by the seizure of the *New-haven-ship*; which Lewes took for sufficient ground, not onely to keep his Hold of those seven ships, but also to arrest our Merchants goods in France, to the value of three hundred thousand pounds; yet, at length, either upon our Kings re-imbarquing to the

French

French owners their goods, or reason of State (new Commorions then arising in France) so perswading, Lemes in the beginning of May, 1626. released all ours, both Ships and Goods. Upon this, all was calm as could be between them again: But this lucid interval lasted not long, there being a fresh eruption of discontent upon an unhappy disaster, which befel in our Queens Court, and it was as followeth.

An Christi,
1626.

July the 1. of this year, towards the evening, the King waited on by the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Holland and Carlile, and other principal Officers, came to Somerset-house, whither all the Queens servants were commanded by a Message sent the same day soon after dinner, to repair, and delivered his mind to them, to this effect.

An unhappy
accident in
the Queens
Court con-
cerning her
Domesticks.

Gentlemen and Ladies,

I Am driven to that extremity, as I am personally come to acquaint you, that I very earnestly desire your return into France. True it is, the deportment of some amongst you hath been very inoffensive to me; But others again have so dallied with my patience, and so highly affronted me, as I cannot, I will no longer endure it.

This Accufation, though not determined to any particulars yet, while the blame hovered over all, every single was concern'd to keep it aloof; so that one by one, they began profession of their severall innocencies. The Bishop of Mende answered, Sir, If this acrimination be levelled at me, let me, I beseech you, know my fault, while I am here to make defence. And Madam S. George seconding him; Sir, I make no question, but the Queen will give of me a fair testimonial to your Majesty. But the King departed with this Reply, this short reply onely, I name none. The Queen, whose tenuity of years, and frailty of sex, had not yet annaied and fixt her for such an encounter, upon the first knowledge of it, over-whelmed with the billows of passion, grew exceeding impetuous against his Majesty, imputing it to him, as the outside and extremity of unkindnesse, that having so slender a security of her Native friends and servants to attend her, they must now be in an instant all cashiered, in whose lieu she must now expect not a train of honor, but a guard of disaffected strangers, nor to wait so much upon her Commands, as to watch her actions; and to be treated like a Prisoner than a Princess. That it was an high indignity to the Daughter of France, and Queen of England, that she could not retain a menial servant without a *Congé d' eslier*, and precarious addresse. His Majesty observing her thus transported, laboured by all gentle perswasions

An. Christi
1626.

They are
warned out
of the Realm.

Their several
offences.

sions to pacifie her; but finding the torrent too terocient and furious for Reason to deal with, resolved he was (hoping that her choler would at length quench it self with its own ebullitions and over-seethings) to ride out the storm, and persisted inflexible from his former purpose. Whereupon in the beginning of the next moneth, they were constrained to quit the Realm. A very sad doom it was certainly to the *French*, if we look upon the punishment abstracted and singled from the fault; for many of them had made sale of all that was theirs in *France*, for the purchase of those places of attendance, to whom proscription and banishment was equivalent to their ruine.

But, as the animadversion was extreme severe; so their offences were adequately and in like degree hainous: and suffer they might an uniform chastisement, for misdemeanours of several makes. The *Ecclesiastick* stood charged, for putting intolerable scorn upon, and making Religion it self do *Penance*, by enjoyning her Majesty, under the notion of *Penance*, to go bare-foot, to spin, to wait upon her Family servants at their ordinary repasts, to trudge on foot in the mire on a rainy morning from *Somerset* house to *St. Jameses*, her Confessor, mean while, like *Lucifer* himself, riding by her in his Coach: but, which is worst of all, to make a Progresse to *Tyburn*, there to present her devotions. A most impious piaculary, whereof the King said acutely, that, *The Action can have no greater invective then the Relation.* Again, the Bishop of *Mende* was blamed for contesting overeagerly with the Earl of *Holland*, about the Stewardship of those Mannors, which were setled upon the Queen for her Dower, that Office being confer'd on the Earl by the King, and the Bishop claiming a grant from her Majesty. The other Sex were accused of Crimes of another nature; whereof *Madam St. George* was, as in dignity of Office, so in guilt, the principall; culpable she was in many particulars, but her most notorious and impardonable fault was, her being an accursed Instrument of some unkindnesse between the King and Queen, through a causelesse taking distaste at his Majesty, for a repulse from riding in the Coach with both their Majesties, Ladies of greater eminency worthily claiming preferment.

This seeming disrespect she resented with so deep disgust, as she ever after meditated all possible means, not onely to create an odium and disdain in the Queen against the *English* Ladies, but also to procure a disaffection to the King himself. And in tract of time, her insinuations into the Queens credulity were so potent, that what *Madam S. George* suggested, was more credential with her, then what her husband could allcadge in contradiction.

So

So that the King perceiving Majesty thus trampled under foot, and the sacred ties of Wedlock, making such approaches to a kind of nullity, through the instigation of hers, and such mischievous spirits, the result of his Reason could be rationally supposed no other, then to evacuate and discharge the Kingdom of them; And the event did highly commend the counsel, for these Incendiaries once cashiered, the Queen who formerly shewed so much Waspish protervity and waywardness, soon fell into such a mode of loving complacence and compliance, as evidently verified; her former deportment was rather the product of malicious spirits, then the effects of any cross-grained inclination of nature; nor did the World ever afford a couple more mutually endeared each to other, then that Pare-Royal became after that.

But though this *Remoy* of her Majesties servants imported domestique peace, yet was it attended with an ill aspect from France, though our King (studying to preserve fair correspondence with his Brother) sent over the Lord *Carleton*, with Instructions, to present a true account of the action, with all the motives to it; but his reception was very course, being never admitted to audience.

For *Lewes* his ears were so wide open to the complaints of the proscribed French, as in the crowd of many truths, malice had power to convey in portentous lyes, one whereof is especially filed upon the Record of History, by some French Narrators, viz. That they were cashier'd without their wages and appointment; whereas they had not onely their full Debentures paid them; but (as in draught) large rewards over and besides, the total amounting to twenty two thousand seven hundred thirty two pounds, the several parcels whereof I am able to ascertain; and for the verity of this, I appeal to Sir *Henry Vane*, then Cof-feter to the King.

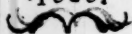
But *Lewes* dispatcht Monsieur the Marshal de *Bassompierre*, as Extraordinary Ambassadour to our King, to demand the restitution of the Queens Domestiques; who labouring some moneths in vain for their re-establishment, was compelled, at length, to return home a mal-content. Nor was it very difficult, to presage what the issue of his Negotiation would prove in England; considering how the Lord *Carleton* was slighted in France, and how that disrespect was seconded by an affront of a worse quality upon our ships at *Bordeaux*, at that very instant of *Bassompier*s imployment here. For our Merchants laden with Wine at *Bordeaux*, in their return home, being to take in their Ordnance at *Blay*, a Castle upon the *Gironde*, where (according to an ancient Custome of diffidence in the French towards us English) they were unladen, they were all arrested in the begin-

An. Christi
1626.

Mercury Fran-
cois, & Du
Chesne.

An Embargo
of our ships
at *Bordeaux*.

An. Christs
1626.



ning of November, by Order from the Parliament of *Rouen*, upon pretence of some injurious depredation by the *English*. This indignity King *Charles* *Romain* with such vehemency of spirit, as he resolved upon hostility with *France*; as shall appear in the Narrative of the ensuing year.

Before I remove from hence, let me here offer at an *Aphorism*, and *State-syllogism*, that is, from those premised, and fore-recited differences, to infer, that *Confederations* and *Alliances* between Princes, are rarely long-lived; the reason (I conceive) is, because they are not fouldered by any magneticke of *Love*, but by occult interest of State; and therefore pendulous, upon the variety and mutation of Affairs. And, for the most part, they are occasioned by a *Fear*, either mutual of each others, or in conjunction of a third Power, (so that such Leagues may more properly be called *Leagues of Fear*, then of *Amity*) whereby it comes to passe, that if the ballance of Power be not equilibrated, very evenly poysed, that Prince who hath the odds of inclination, either in reality, or supposition, will soon find and excogitate for his own advantage, matter of pretext to retire from his Faith, and to temeritate the Laws of Alliance: nor can any verbal formality in the frame of the Treaties secure, nor the Oaths (the strongest ligaments of humane Society) by which they are ratified, be defensatives sufficient against any, who hath a genius and mind to violate his fidelity, especially when the difference is like to receive no other decision, than what the Sword yields. And if such Alliances have the hap to be entertained with a serious and cordial disposition on both parts, yet many traverses and untoward accidents, fortuitously and by chance occur, which either not managed to the best behoof of correspondence, or seconded by counsels of an ill temper, carry along with them fatal consequences, and generate a Rupture. So it fell out in this quarrel between Us and *France*, wherein whether either merited the total of the blame generally imputed to them, may occasion further disquisition.

That the imbarque and stay of our ships at *Blay* by *Lewes* his Command, was an infringement of the League, it is conceded, no evasion can be devised for it. But that he brake his Faith (as is generally suggested, and urged against him) in using the seven ships against *Rochel*, changing thereby the property of their prime destination, I, under favour, supersede my assent. My reason is;

All promises whatsoever, carry always about them, tacite *Salvo's*, and savings of general and imply'd conditions; whereof one is, That Affairs keep their station, and vary not from what they were at the moment of sollicitation: for words cannot oblige beyond the mind, and it would be destructive to humane Society,

should

should a man be bound up by the strictness of his Parole, to the performance of what (upon rational Principles) neither himself would have granted, nor another have required of him at the first instant of the Contract. And this was *Lewes* his case: for when he first past that Promise, he had at home a considerable Armado, the greatest part whereof he might, and would have reserved to engage against *Rochel*, and consequently have disposed the *English* ships agreeable to his first purpose. But that Navy being now abroad, and too remote to bring timely aid, not to use all imaginable means, in order to his own safety, for the crushing of those *Revolters*, had been to betray himself to inevitable ruine. For in periclitations and dangers of so eminent a degree, it is to none denied to use all the Wits they have: therefore even amongst the *Romans*, the most steady and punctual observers of Faith, there was a Law, and they tell us enacted by *Jupiter* himself, which justified all actions, whereby the *Common-wealth* might be preserved; therefore, though paradox it may seem, and out of the Road of common belief; yet seeing none can convince it for *heterodox*, and repugnant to truth, in this particular, we may pronounce, that *Lewes* did break rather his Word, then his Faith.

King Charles is taxed for violating the *Matrimonial* Pact, by the *Renvoy*, and discarding of the *Queens* Domestiques. An accusation, which if it hath somewhat of truth, it hath I am sure more of partiality; for why should he be singled out in the accusation, who was not single in the Crime? nor onely other Princes, but *Lewes* himself having been guilty of a similar practice upon the *Spanish* Retinue of his own Queen. But Precedents are no Standards, nor can they legitimate illegal actions: this, therefore, no just vindication of our *King*, whose honour will (if I mistake not) find better relief from the Agreement it self, then from Example.

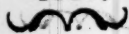
The Article urged against him, is the 14th. by which it was contracted, That all the Domestique servants which the Queen should bring over into England, should be natural French and Catholiques, chosen by the most Christian King. And in case of death, she to chuse others Catholiques of France, provided the King of Great Britain should assent.

Hereby it appeareth, that her first Set was to be of her Brothers Election, and so they were. But how long they should continue their attendance, & that ejection (in case of misdemeanor) might not create a vacancy as well as death, nothing is expressly limited to the contrary: and, indeed, it cannot in reason be conceived, that the Articles should give them a longer term, then

Au Christi,
1626.

Πάντων ἀνθρώπων
ἐκδορὰς ἐκείνη
ὁλοῦ τοῦ κόσμου
ἐκείνη ἐκείνη
ἐκείνη ἐκείνη
Thucyd. lib. 1.
Jupiter ipse
lancivit ut omne
nia quæ reipub.
salutaria essent,
justa & legitime
haberenent.
Cic. Philip. 2.

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1626.



during an obedience futable to their Offices, or state them in such an indefeasible tenure, as might tempt them to all kinde of insolence against their Superiours. So then their condition being pendulous upon their good behaviour, which no doubt, (as is evident by their Oath clientelary, and of Fidelity formed in the 15. Article) was equally relative to either Majesty; I cannot but totally acquit King *Charles* of blame, in proscribing such as refractorily offended. To proceed;

Whilest these two *Kings* were thus picking quarrels one with the other, very sad news came hither from *Germany*, That the *King* of *Denmark*, notwithstanding the late aid sent from *England* of 6000. men, under the conduct of Sir *Charles Morgan*, had on the 17. of *August* received a total overthrow by *Tilly*, and was reduced to such distresse, that if present succour came not, he was ruined for ever; That the *Sound* was like to be lost; the *English* Garrison at *Sioade* straightly besieged; our *Eastland* Trade, and Staple at *Hamborough*, where our clothes are vented, almost given up for gone.

Though these storms appeared as Land-skips, and aloof, yet the *King* foresaw, that as the wind lay, their impression was like soon to visit him at home; and at home he was in no good plight to bear up against them, matters going there with him correspondently ill.

For having sent out a Fleet of 30. sail, all men of War, in the beginning of *October*, under the command of the Lord *Willoughby*, and Earl of *Denbigh*, an hideous storm so ruffled them, as they had much ado to gain safe Harbour; and well they escaped so, for they were of so slight and insufficient a structure, as had they been but an hundred leagues farther off, very few, if any, had recovered Land.

But it is an ill wind blowes none to good; and this boystrous gust was a friendly contrivance of providence for the Earl of *Denbighs* advantage, there falling out an unhappy accident in his absence, which called, and speedily too, for all was man in him.

The *Marquesse Hamilton* had been long, and earnestly solicited by the Duke to marry his Neece, this Earls Daughter. The *Marquesse* had a mind as high, as (some thought above) his extraction, and did account the Earls daughter, who was (though well derived) but yesterday Sir *William Fielding*, *impar congressu*, and no fit Match: at length the *King* interposeth his desire; and Princes desires are equiparate to Commands; so, in the end, the *Marquesse* consents, and weds her, but with a serious resolution never to bed her: all fair and gentle means were used, both by the *King* and Duke, to perswade him to become her bed-fellow; that failing, they steer'd a course quite contrary,

and

A Navy prepared for *Rochel*.

Marquesse Hamilton departed in [dis]pleasure.

and divested him of his place in the *Spicery*, worth 2500 l. per annum.

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Upon this, the Marquesse mal-content, a week before the Earls return, departs for *Scotland*, bidding the Court (as it was supposed) an eternal valediction. The Earl no sooner landed, then he was saluted with the news of his son in laws departure; whereupon he takes Post again after him, and after many denials, at last, with earnest importunity, reduced him to the Court: yet all the Art and Royal Power could not induce him to bed her, untill two years after; and, as not then, without strong reluctance, so was he for an entire year so abstinent from dispensing to her conjugal duties, as all that while he treated her, rather like something contagious, not affording her the favour of one touch, as he himself confest: the greater miracle, because in the Ladies Person there was nothing horrid, but a well-complexion'd loveliness, and what might attract desire. But what her external could not, her internal Beauty at length, effected: she demeaning her self, during his aversion from her, with so modest, so humble a compliance, and such Christian Patience, as put his Will into another mode, and disposed it to the better fashion of an agreeable uxoriousness.

The King being thus on every side, on the losing hand, he was much distressed in mind what course to take to discharge himself of those impendent Calamities; should he call a *Parliament*, the time (whose every moment was precious to him) would not permit to stay for their Convention; and when met, should they prove (as it was odds they would) as dilatory and disgusting as the former, he were in a worse condition then before. In this perplexed difficulty, at length, his Council agreed to set that great Engine, his *Prerogative*, on work; many Projects were hammered on that Forge, but they came all to small effect.

The King in want,

First, they moved for a *Contribution*, by way of *Benevolence*, but this was soon dashed: then a resolution was taken to enhance the value of Coyn two shillings in the pound; but this also was soon argued down by Sir *Robert Cotton*: But that which the Council stuck closest to, was the issuing of a Commission, dated the 13. of *October*, for raising of almost two hundred thousand pounds by way of *Loan*; and the more to expedite and facilitate this Levy, the Commissioners were instructed to represent to the Subject, the deplorable estate of *Rochel*, then closely beleaguer'd by the Duke of *Guise*; and if not speedily relieved, would fall irrecoverably into the hands of the enemies of the Protestant Religion.

Raiseh monies by Loan.

These were plausible insinuations. For *Rochel*, though situated in another Countrey, yet was looked upon, as in the same parallel of belief with us. And what will not men suffer for

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Many refuse.

Dr. Andrews
B. of Winchester
dyeth.

And the Vi-
count St. Al-
bans.

for others of the same perswasion; especially when same reports them sufferers, because of the same perswasion?

But all would not smooth the asperity of this illegal Tax; *Rochel* and all other forrain considerations must stand by, when homebred liberty is disputed; so thought the almost moiety of the Kingdom, who opposed it to Durance. Upon this account of refusal, prisoners, some of the Nobility, and most of the prime Gentry were daily brought in by scores, I might almost say by Counties, so that the Council Table had almost as much work to provide Prisons, as to supply the Kings necessities.

This year Learning lost two luminaries of the greatest magnitude that ever this Nation enjoy'd.

First, that stupendiously profound Prelate *Dr. Andrews* Bishop of *Winchester*, an excellent Disputant, in the Orientall Tongues surpassingly knowing, so studiously devoted to the Doctrine of the ancient Fathers, as his extant Works breath nothing but their faith; nor can we now read the Fathers in his Writings, more then we could have done in his very aspect, gesture and actions, so venerable in his presence, so grave in his motions, so pious in his conversation, so primitive in all. Briefly, in him was, what was desireable in a Bishop, and that to admiration.

Secondly, the then, and last Lord Chancellor Sir *Francis Bacon* Vicount St. *Albans*, for humane Learning his Ages miracle, but withall the mirrour of humane frailty; and as most eminent in intellectual abilities, so too much in his prudential failings, occasioned by his August and Noble soul, which disdainning all drossie and terrene consideration, never descended to know the value of money, untill he wanted it; and his want was at length so great, as when he yielded to the Law of Nature, he left not of his own enough to defray the Charge of his Funeral rites.

He lyeth interred in the Church of St. *Michael* at St. *Albans* in *Hartfordshire*, and hath there a fair statuary Monument erected for him of white Marble at the cost of Sir *Thomas Meautis*, his ancient servant, who was not nearer to him living then dead; for this Sir *Thomas* ending his life about a score of years after, it was his lot to be inhumed so nigh his Lords Sepulchre, that in the forming of his grave, part of the Vicounts body was exposed to view; which being spyed by a Doctor of *Physick*, he demanded the head to be given him, and did most shamefully disport himself with that shell which was some-while the continent of so vast treasures of knowledge.

The Commission of Loan not answering in its product his Majesties expectation, the Papists began now to plot their own

own advantage from the Kings wants; and under pretence of Loyalty, they of Ireland propounded to him, That upon consideration of a Toleration of their Religion, they would at their own charge furnish him with a constant Army of five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. But this project to their great regret proved down-baked, the Protestants countermining them; for in the next Spring Doctor Downham Bishop of London-Derry, preaching before the Lord Deputy and the whole States, April the 22. taking for his Text, Luke 1. 74. *That we being delivered from the hands of our enemies, might serve him without fear*; In the midst of his Sermon, he openly read this Protestation subscribed by the Archbishops and all the Bishops of that Kingdom:

1. The Religion of the Papists is superstitious and Idolatrous.
2. Their Faith and Doctrine Erroneous and Heretical.
3. Their Church in respect of both Apostatical.

To give them therefore a Toleration, is to make our selves necessary to their abominations, and to the perdition of their souls.

But to sell them a Toleration, is to sell Religion to sale, and with that, their souls which Christ hath redeemed with his precious blood.

The Bishop having ended this Protestation, added, And let all the people say Amen; which they did, so as the Church almost shook with the noise. The Deputy required of the Bishop a Copy of both his Sermon and Protestation, who answered, He would most willingly justifie it before his Majesty, and feared not who read it.

And about the same time the like offer was made here in England, to set forth Ships and Men for the safeguard of the narrow Seas: But old Sir John Savill found a trick worth two of that, he had a project would bring in double that money, saying, A Commission to proceed against *Recusants* for their thirds due to his Majesty by Law would do it; to which the King in part condescended, granting him and some others a Commission for the parts beyond Trent.

But though moneys came in but slowly, yet was the Naval Force compleated for expedition about Midsummer; whereof the Duke appeared Admirall; as ambitious by some meritorious service to earn a better gust, or correct the universall odium against him.

June the 27. he set sail from Portsmouth with about six thousand Horse and Foot; and July the 20. he published this *Manifesto*, declaring the impulsive causes of his Majesties present arming.

What part the Kings of Great Britain have alwayes taken in the affaires of the Reformed Churches of this Kingdom, and with what care and zeal they have laboured for the good

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1627.

Sir John Savills
project against
the English
Papists.

The Action of
Rbe.

of

Ann. Christi
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of them, is manifest to all, and the examples of it are also as ordinary as the occasions have been. The now King my most honoured Lord and Master, comes nothing short of his Predecessors therein, if his good and laudable designs for their good had not been perverted to their ruine, by those who had the most interest for their accomplishment. What advantages hath he refused? what parties hath he not sought unto: that by his alliance with *France* he might work more profitably and powerfully the restitution of those Churches into their ancient liberty and splendor. And what could be best hoped by so strict an alliance, and from so many reiterated promises, by the mouth of a great Prince, but effects truly Royall, and sorting with his Greatnesse? But so far fails it therein, that his Majesty in so many promises and so strait obligation of friendship, hath found means to obtain liberty and surety for the Churches, and to restore peace to *France* by the reconciliation of those whose breath utters nothing else but all manner of obedience to their King under the liberty of the edicts; that contrariwise they have prevailed by the interest which he had in those of the Religion to deceive them, and by this means not only to untie him from them, but also to make him (if not odious unto them) at the least suspected, in perverting the means which he had ordained for good, to a quite contrary end. Witnesse the *English* ships not designed for the extirpation of these of the Religion (but, to the contrary, expresse promise was made, that they should not be used against them) which notwithstanding were brought before *Rochel*, and were employed against them in the last Sea-fight; what then may be expected from so puissant a King, as the King my Master so openly eluded, but a through feeling equall and proportioned to the injuries received? but his patience hath gone beyond patience, and as long as he had hope that he could benefit the Churches by any other means, he had no recourse by way of Arms; so far, that having bin made an instrument and worker of the late Peace, upon conditions disadvantageous enough, and which would never have been accepted without his Majesties intervention, who interposed his credit and interest to the Churches to receive them (even with threatnings) to the end to shelter the honour of the most Christian Kings, under assurance of his part, not onely for the accomplishment, but also for the bettering of the said conditions, for which he sends caution to the Churches.

But what hath been the issue of all this, but only an abuse of his goodnesse? and that which his Majesty thought a sovereign remedy for all their sores, hath it not brought almost the last blow to the ruine of the Churches? It wanted but little by

continuing

continuing the Fort before *Rochel*, (the demolishing whercof was promised) by the violence of the Souldiers, and Garrisons of the said Fort and Isles, as well upon the inhabitants of the said Town, as strangers; in lieu whereas they should wholly have retired, have daily been augmented, and other Forts built, and by the stay of Commissioners in the said Town beyond the term agreed on, to the end to make broiles, and by the means of the division which they made to open the gates to the neighbouring Troops, and by other withstandings and infractions of Peace, little, I say, fail'd it, that the said Town, and in it all the Churches had not drawn their last breath. And in the mean while his Majesty hath yet continued, and not opposed so many injuries, so many faith-breakings, but by plaints and treatings; until he had received certain Advice (confirmed by intercepted Letters) of the great preparation that the most Christian King made to shewr upon *Rochel*. And then what could his Majesty do lesse but to vindicate his honour by a quick arming against those who had made him a party in their deceit, and to give testimony of his integrity and zeal, which he hath alwayes had for the re-establishing of the Churches, which shall be dear and precious to him above any other thing.

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The first design of this Fleet was intended against *Fort-Lewes*, upon the continent near *Rochel*. But we were diverted by a stratagem of the Duke d'Angoulesm, who (coming with three thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, for the security of the Fort, and annoyance of *Rochel*) ordered his Quarter-masters to take up as much accommodation in the Villages for quarters, as would suffice for fifteen thousand men; and they of the Religion supposing the power to be agreeable to this area or content of ground possessed by them, sent speedy advice thereof to the Duke and *Subize*, who instantly directed their course toward the Isle of *Rhe*.

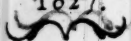
July the 30. the English early in the morning shewed themselves upon the Islands of *Oleron* to the number of about twenty Sail: upon their first discovery from Land they were supposed to be *Dunkers* waiting the motion of the *Hollanders* then in the Road; but when it was perceived that they made nearer approaches toward the shore of the Isle of *Rhe*, and withall grew more numerous, and the *Hollanders* taking no alarm, they were then suspected to be English. The next day they sent in twelve Ships to guard the entry of *Port-Breten*, falling down with the rest to a Fort of the Isle of *Rhe*, called *de la Pre*, against which they played with their Canon, untill they made their approaches with Musquet-shot of the shore, which made

and the 31st of
July 1627.

Sieur

An. Christi,

1627.



Sieur de Toiras Governour of the Cittadel of *St. Martin* think they had intentions of landing there; to impede which, he made out all the strength he could, but we kept the *French* at that distance with our Ordinance, as gave us liberty to land about 1200 men. The enemy being about one thousand Horse and Foot besides Voluntiers, made a very gallant impression upon us; but coming counter and travers of our Canon, they received the greater losse: the totall of those who fell on both sides, was estimated at about nine hundred, whereof the enemy bare the greater share. Men of note slain of our party were *Sir William Heyden*, and *Sieur de Blancard*, a *French-man*, Agent from the *Duke of Rhoan*, and the Protestants. Of the *French*, the Governours brother, the Baron of *Chuntal*, and about half a score more.

In this skirmish it was hard to distinguish which side won the field, seeing neither kept it, both retreating to their holds, we to our Ships, they to their Garrison, where for three dayes all was so 'st, so calm on both sides, as if they had sworn a Truce, or had spent their whole stock of valour. At length the *Duke* perceiving the *French* had as little stomach as himself, went on shore again, intrenching himself, untill he had debarqued all his Horse: then he dispatcht *Subize*, and *Sir William Beecher* to *Rochel* for a recruit; who returning with five hundred Foot, they forthwith marched directly towards *Sr. Martins Fort*, (disdaining to attempt *La Pre*, which a slender assault would have subdued, and might have proved an handsome and safe place of retreat in their future necessity.) The Islanders upon his approach to their Town fled into the Castle, and left the Town to his dispose, who thought it was an earnest of the Cittadel it self, though the sense of their Councell of War, especially of *Sir John Burroughs*, was clearly otherwise; and that a strength so mann'd and fortify'd, and in an Enemies Countrey, was almost inexpugnable. But notwithstanding all diswasions of his Councel, the *Duke* falls to circumvallation and entrenchment, rearing many Batteries, from whence he peked the Fort for the space of two moneths together, though to little purpose; all the prejudice the enemy that way received, being not equivalent to ours in the losse of that gallant Gentleman *Sir John Burroughs*, who was slain with a Musket shot from the Cittadel, while he was viewing the *English Works*, and after nobly and honourably interred at *westminster*. It is said, that during this siege, there was taken by the *English* *perdu*, a *French-man* with a poniard of an odde fashion, wherewith (as he confessed) he was sent by *Toiras* to have stabb'd the *Duke*, which moved the *Duke* to poyson their fresh Springs; whereby, and for want of other supplies, they were at once reduced

Sir John Burroughs slain.

The Reign of King Charles.

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reduced almost to the point of yeelding; when in the very joynt and nick of necessity, *Monsieur Balin* at an high flood, in the dead of night conveyed in twelve Pinnaces laden with such provision, as bare up their drooping spirits untill fresh relief arrived, which came successively in smaller parcels, untill the Marshall of *Schomberg*, October 29. about three of the clock in the morning, the *English* taking no Alarm, under the Favour of the *Fort de la Pree*, landed four thousand foot, and two hundred horse, wherewith about day-break he marched up to the view of the Fort and of the *English*. The *Duke* much startled at this so strange apparition, and finding it a formidable power, being loath to endure an engagement front and rear, resolved to rise and be gone; to which end he sent three hundred to guard the Bridge over which his Army was to passe unto the *Isle of Loos*; but before he could be ready to march away, the enemy were drawing out of the little Fort, whereupon Command was given to hasten away with all expedition. But before the *English* were out of the Town, the enemy followed their Rear with their Swords drawn, hollowing to us in a *bravado*, whereupon being got Musquet shot from the Town, we were all drawn into battalia, thinking the Enemy would charge, but they would advance no nearer: then we marched in Military order again, and coming through a Village, we placed our Musqueteers behind the walls in Ambuscado, which giving fire upon their Enemies Horse as they were coming that way, enforced them to retreat. Having marched about three miles further, we came to many little hills, which we ascended, and underneath set our men again in Battalia, staying there almost an hour before we marched away. In the interim, the enemy, which were before, a mile and half distant from us, came almost up to us, and facing us from the tops of the hills, observed in what posture we marched. Then were drawn forth some Musqueteers of the Forlorn, to shoot at those upon the hills, and to play upon their Horses. But as we marched away they still approached nearer to us, untill we came to a passage which was so narrow, having Salt-pits on either side, as we could only march six a breast.

The *French* now spying his opportunity, powred forth a great Volée of shot against us, then we began to march as fast as possible. But as our Rear began to march, their Horse presently charged the Lord *Montjoyes* Troops, who turning tail, rode in amongst our Ranks, and routed us, (which *Sir Charles Rich* perceiving, cry'd, as it is reported, *Kill him, kill him, though he be my Brother*;) so that the greatest part began to shift for themselves, and confusedly ran away, many casting away their Arms, others leaping into the water, were cut off.

The *English*
routed.

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The other Divisions of the Horse fell upon Sir William Conninghams Troops; but they most bravely fought it out unto the last man: had the Lord Montjoy done the like, there had not a quarter so many perished. In this time we could not charge the Enemy, because our Horse interposed betwixt us and them, and we could not annoy the Enemy; but we must more endanger our own fellows.

By this means, all those Regiments in the Rear were cut off, and some of those in the Battail, the Enemy charging us even to the Bridge, where some of our Commanders made a stand, to receive them; and being not seconded by the Souldiers, who leapt into the water, were most of them slain; and had not Sir Edward Cornwys, who led the Van, marched back to the Bridge, and gallantly repelled the Enemy, who were newly passed over the Bridge, we had been all slain. Now the Enemy being driven on the other side, we left a select Company of Musquetiers to guard that Passage untill night, when we burnt the Bridge, lodged that night in the Loofe, and the next day went on board.

The sum of
their losse,

The black Bill of this days Mortality, was about fifty Officers; of common Souldiers, few lesse then two thousand; Prisoners of note, thirty five; Colours taken, forty four, hung up as Anthems at Paris, in the Church of Nostre Dame. Honour lost, all we got at Agincourt. The Prisoners, Lewis graciously dismiss home, as an affectionate Offerory to his Sister, the Queen of England: which made up another Victory, superadded to the former, and a Conquest over us, as well in the exercise of Civilities, as in feat of Arms. Onely the Lord Montjoy was ransomed; for which, he offering to the French King a round sum. No, my Lord, it's said, the King replied, Your Redemption shall be onely two couple of Hounds from England. Some interpreted this a slender value of that Lord, to be exchanged for a couple of Dogs; but it was onely in the King, a modest estimate of his courtesie.

Thus were we, I know not whether more, chased out, or destroyed in this fatall Isle; an Isle so inconsiderable, as had we lost there neither bloud nor honour, and gained it in to the bargain, it would have ill rewarded our preparation and charge of the Expedition.

Great Enterprises, are fit Entertainments for heroique spirits, and the ambition of them is noble: But as the Atchievement of them is glorious, so the failing shameful; and the both glory and discredit commensurate with the interest of the Agent; and, consequently, Adventurers in chief have the greatest share, both in the honour and disgrace: so it fared with the Duke, whom this misfortune made principally obnoxious to the
last

lath of wanton tongues; for upon his first weighing Anchor, and setting sail homeward, the French said, in a jeer, *Though the Duke could not take the Cittadel of St. Martins, yet it was odds but he would take the Tower of London.* Nor did his own Countrey spare him at home; for, immediatly upon his return, Doctor Moor, a Prebend of Winchester, a man of an acute, but aculeated Wit, took occasion to cire in his Sermon that of *Augustus* in *Tacitus*, *Quintili Vare redde Legiones*, which, saith the Historian, *perished propter inscitiam & temeritatem Ducis*, giving him a quaint wipe with the Amphibology, the double-mindedness of the word *Dux*. In this, he was exceeding happy, that in the face of Majesty he found all serene; onely the King told him that Sir *Sackville Crow* had written to him of a far greater losse, then he acknowledged.

During this Expedition, *George Abbot*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, was compelled to a re-cesse, not inglorious to his fame, and of infinite contentment to his mind; which secluded from the drudgery of temporal cares, might wholly intend those which concerned Eternity. Being sequestered from his Function, and a Commission dated *October 9.* granted by the King to five Bishops, Bishop *Laud* being of the Quorum to execute Episcopal Jurisdiction within this Province. The declared Impulsive to it was a supposed irregularity in him, by reason of an homicide committed by him, *per infortunium*, upon the Keeper of his Game (about six years before) by the unhappy glance of an Arrow, level'd at a Deer: Upon which sad mischance, a former Commission was awarded by King *James*, to enquire, whether he was thereby rendred incapable of officiating as Arch-bishop, yea, or nay. And although no Arguments were pretermitted, which the Wit of potent malignity could devise or suggest against him; yet was he, by the whole Court (acquiescing in the Opinion of those two learned men, Bishop *Andrews*, and Sir *Henry Martin*, who both strenuously vindicated him) pronounced Regular.

Next *Michaelmas Term*, there was an high Debate concerning the *Loan Recusants*, they Petitioning the *Kings-Bench* for an *Habeas Corpus*, the *Attorney General* alleading they were notailable; and their Council affirming they were, by reason the cause of their Commitment was not declared in the Warrant; but, notwithstanding their Council pleaded with great applause, yet were they constrained to bide by it.

In this same Term, the Lady *Purbeck* was tryed in the High Commission for Incontinence, or to speak more explicite, for Adultery with Sir *Robert Howard*, and being found guilty, was censured to do Penance in the *Savoy*, to pay the Court five hundred Marks, and to be imprisoned, during the pleasure of the

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The Lady
Purbeck cen-
sured in the
Scar-chamber.

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A Fray in
Fleetstreet.

the Court. But being in the *Christmas* after pursued by the Officers to do her penance, she was rescued by the *Savoy* Ambassadour, her next neighbour, and so escaped their clutches.

Penance and restraint were indeed somewhat unseasonable at a time of such Joviall festivity and indulged freedom. And the liberty of that time minds me of what then occurred jocosseriously, between jest and earnest, at the interview of two great Princes.

That *Christmas* the Temple Sparks had enstalled a *Lieutenant*, a thing we Country folk call a *Lord of Misrule*: This *Lieutenant* had on *Twelfth Eve* late in the night sent out to collect his rents in *Ramme-Alley*, and *Fleetstreet*, limiting five shillings to every house. At every door they winded their Temple-horn, and if it procured not entrance at the second blast or summons, the Word of Command was then, *Give fire, Gunner*. This *Gunner* was a robustious Vulcan, and his Engine a mighty Smiths hammer. The next morning the Lord Mayor of London was made acquainted therewith, and promised to be with them the next Night, commanding all that Ward, and also the Watch to attend him with their Halberds. At the hour prefixt the Lord Mayor with his Train marched up in Martial equipage to *Ramme-Alley*: Out came the *Lieutenant* with his suit of Gallants, all armed in *cuerpo*. One of the Halberdiers bad the *Lieutenant* come to my Lord Mayor; No, said the *Lieutenant*, *Let the Lord Mayor come to me*. But this Controversie was soon ended, they advancing each to other till they met half way; then one of the Halberdiers reproved the *Lieutenant* for standing covered before the Lord Mayor: To this reproof the *Lieutenant* gave so crosse an answer, as it begat as crosse a blow, which the Gentlemen not brooking, began to lay about them: but in fine, the *Lieutenant* was knockt down, and sore wounded, and the Halberdiers had the better of the Swords. The Lord Mayor being thus master of the field, took the *Lieutenant*, and haled, rather then led him to the Counter, and with indignation thrust him in at the prison gate, where he lay till the *Attorney General* mediated for his enlargement, which the Lord Mayor granted, upon condition he should submit and acknowledge his fault. The *Lieutenant* readily embraced the motion, and the next day performing the condition, so ended this *Christmas Game*.

Souldiers bil-
let in the
Countrey.

In *January*, the Duke finding the poor remains of his late Army somewhat boistrous for want of pay, to prevent a mutiny, billeted them by small parcels in the Countrey Villages, which made the Countrey people have cold chear, though hot fires; being not more burthened, then frightened with those guests, who being most strangers, *Irish*, and *Scots*, were none of the

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the civillest, and such Hybernal stations having never been heard of before in *England* in time of peace, the jealousies of subsequent calamities doubled the sense of the present, and so swelled up their terrors still higher. At the same conjuncture of time Sir *William Balfore*, a *Scot*, and eminent Commander of Horse in the *Netherlands*, was imployed thither by the King with Bills of Exchange of thirty thousand pounds to buy and transport a thousand Horse into *England* for the service of his Majesty; and *Dalbier* a *Dutch-man*, sometimes belonging to Count *Mansfield*, was joyned in Commission with him: so that the common man began to mutter, as if there were some Turkish tyranny in design.

On the other side the King was infinitely perplexed, and distracted with restless thoughts; these discontents of the Subject were not still-born, but cryed so loud, as reached to his Sacred Ears; he studied all means to disabuse them, and remove their jealousies, declaring, He disdained to harbour any such unkingly thoughts, and that he had a greater love for them then so, and desired he might at least ease their minds; seeing he could not (as matters stood with him at present) their purses.

And in truth his exigents were passing great, the King of *Denmark* being reduced almost to a despondence, and quitting of his Kingdome, our Garrison governed by Colonel *Morgan* exceedingly straightned, and the *Rochellers* crying amain for help.

For the Duke being returned from the *Isle of Rhe*, the King of *France* resolved upon a serious and formidable Siege against *Rochel*, and agreeable to the ancient advice of *Monilus*, Ann. 1573. prosecuted all wayes to subdue the Town by Famine, ordered an entire Circumvallation towards the Continent, builded three Forts, with many Redoubts upon the Entrenchment, whose line was three leagues in circumference, and distant from the Town somewhat more then Musquet shot; all this to preclude and hinder relief on that side. But what would a Land-obstruction advantage, while the Sea advenues were open? therefore the Cardinal of *Richelieu*, who was chief in the managing of that Affair, attempted the making of a mighty Barricado and Travers crosse the Channel, in length about fourteen hundred yards, leaving a space in the middle for the flux and reflux of the Sea.

The *Rochellers* perceived by the scantling and grandure of this preparation, the naturall issue could be no other then their ruine, unlesse they should render it abortive by some counter-plot: this their distresse hurrieth and ferrieth over again *Subize* and their Deputies to *England*, to sollicite our King for fresh supplies before the prodigious work should be completed;

The *Rochellers*
crave the
Kings ayd.

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ted; who (good Prince) affected with their miseries, and desirous rather to protect them from being slaves, then to enable them to be Masters, condescended to assure them of what assistance he could make.

But alas! what could his assistance signifie, who was as necessitous as themselves? Did they want Men, Ammunition, Ships? so did he, seeing he wanted that which was all these, *Money*. And how, where, shall that be had? His last borrowing Commissions, was a course so displeasing to the Subject, as would not admit of re-petition, and it would prove an odde payment of that *Loans* arrears, to demand another. But the *King* was now the *Subject* of a greater *Potentate* then himself, *Necessity*; and this *Necessity* put him upon severall projects. First, he borroweth of the Common Councell of *London* one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, for which and other debts he assures unto them twenty one thousand pounds *per annum* of his own Lands, and of the *East-India* Company thirty thousand pounds, and yet he wants: Next *privy Seals* are sent out by hundreds, and a new way of *Levy* by *Excise*, resolved upon to be executed by Commission, dated the 3. of *February*, and yet he wants. But the best and most taking project of all, was a *Parliament*; whereby he hoped not onely to supply his *Necessities*, but also to give some better repose to his troubled spirit; for he felt no inward contentment, whilest he the Head, and his Subjects the Body, were at distance, or like interfects and flies, tack't together by a Mathematicall line and imaginary thread; therefore he seriously resolved for his part to frame and dispose himself to such obliging complacencie and compliance, as might re-consolidate and make them knit again.

A Parliament
called,

This *Parliament* was summoned to meet upon the 17. of *March*, and the *Writs* being issued out, the *Loan-Recusants* appeared the only men in the peoples affections; none thought worthy of a Patriots title, but he who was under restraint upon that account; so that the far greater number of the *Parliament* was formed of them; and as their sufferings had made them of eminent remark for noble courage, so did they for externall respects appear the gallantest Assembly that ever those Walls immured, they having estates, modestly estimated, able to buy the House of *Peers*, (the *King* excepted) though one hundred and eighteen, thrice over. Thus were all things strangely turned in a trice topside t'other way: they who lately were confined as prisoners, are now not onely free, but petty Lords and Masters, yea and petty Kings.

This

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Some few dayes before the *Session*, a notable discovery was made of a Colledge of *Jesuits* at *Clerkenwell*. The first information was given by one *Crosse*, a messenger to Secretary *Coke*, who sent a Warrant to Justice *Long* dwelling neer enjoying to take some Constables and other ayd with him; and forthwith to beset the house, and apprehend the *Jesuits*: Enttring the first door, they found at a stairs foot, a man and a woman standing, who told them, *My Masters, take heed you go not up the stairs, for there are above many resolute and valiant men, who are well provided with swords and pistols, and will lose their lives rather then yeeld, therefore if you love your lives be gone.* The Constables took their counsell, and like cowardly Buzzards went their way, and told Secretary *Coke* the danger: whereupon the Secretary sent the *Sheriff* to attach them, who coming with a formidable power found all withdrawn, and sneakt away; but after long search, their place of security was found out, it being a lobby behind a new Brick Wall wain-scotted over, which being demolisht, they were presently unkennell'd to the number of ten. They found also divers letters from the *Pope* to them, empowering them to erect this Colledge under the name of *Damus Probationis* (but it proved *Reprobationis*) *Sancti Ignatii*, and their books of accounts, whereby it appeared they had five hundred pounds *per annum* contribution from their Benefactors, and had purchased four hundred and fifty pounds *per annum*; they had a Chappel, Library, and other rooms of necessary accommodation with household utensils and implements marked with *† S.* What became of those *Jesuits* will fall in afterward, and what would have become of the Secretary for his double diligence in their prosecution, you should have heard, had not the Duke been cut off, by an end untimely to himself timely to the popular gust.

The Parliament being met, the King began thus to them;

M

My

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The Kings
Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THESE Times are for *Action*, for
Action I say, not for *Words*; there-
fore I shall use but a few; and (as
Kings are said to be exemplary to
their Subjects, so) I wish you would
imitate me in this, and use as few, fal-
ling upon speedy consultation. No
man is I conceive such a stranger to
the common Necessity, as to expostu-
late the cause of this Meeting, and
not to think supply to be the end of
it; and as this Necessity is the pro-
duct and consequent of your advice,
so the true Religion, the Lawes and
Liberties of this State, and just De-
fence of our Friends and Allies, being
so considerably concerned, will be, I
hope, arguments enough to perswade
Supply; for if it be, as most true it is,
both my Duty and Yours, to preserve
this Church and Common-wealth,
this exigent time certainly requires
it.

In this time of common danger, I
have taken the most ancient, speedy,
and best way for Supply, by calling
you

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‘ you together. If (which *God* forbid)
‘ in not contributing what may answer
‘ the qualitie of my occasions, you do
‘ not your duties; it shall suffice I have
‘ done mine, in the conscience where-
‘ of I shall rest content, and take some
‘ other course, for which *God* hath im-
‘ powred me, to save that which the
‘ folly of particular men might hazard
‘ to lose.

‘ Take not this as a Menace (for I
‘ scorn to threaten my Inferiors) but as
‘ an *Admonition* from him who is tyed,
‘ both by Nature and Dutie, to pro-
‘ vide for your preservations; and I
‘ hope, though I thus speak, your de-
‘ meanors will be such, as shall oblige
‘ me in thankfulness to meet you oft-
‘ ner, than which nothing shall be
‘ more pleasing to me.

‘ Remembring the distractions of
‘ our last meeting, you may suppose I
‘ have no confidence of good successe
‘ at this time; but be assured, I shall
‘ freely forget and forgive what is
‘ past, hoping you will follow that sa-
‘ cred advice lately inculcated, to
‘ maintain the unity of the Spirit in the
‘ bond of peace.

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The Parlia-
ment grant
liberally.

The subjects
liberty un-
der debate.

The Lords'
vice in the bu-
sinesse.

The Parliament seemed at first, exceeding prompt to clothe with the Kings desires; and as complyingly disposed, as could be wished. But they had not forgot the many pressures, which made the Subject groan: something they must do for them who sent, as well as for Him who called them thither: and to anticipate all Dispute, in point of Precedence, between the Subjects Grievances, and the Kings Supplies, they made an Order, that both should proceed *pari passu*, check by joule.

Upon full consideration of the Kings wants, they presently and cheerfully agreed to give him five Subsidies: whereof Secretary Coke was the first Evangelist, and bearer of that good news to the King, who received it with wondrous joy, and asked the Secretary by how many voices it was carryed; Sir John replied, *but by one*: At which, perceiving the Kings countenance to change, Sir, said he, *your Majesty hath the greater cause to rejoyce, for the House was so unanimous therein, as they made but one voice*: Whereupon the King wept, and bad the Secretary tell them, *He would deny them nothing of their Liberties, which any of his Predecessors had granted*.

The Stream of Affairs running thus smoothly, without the least wrinkle of discontent on either side, the House of Commons first insisted upon the Personal Freedom of the People, and resolved for Law, *That no Freeman ought to be imprisoned, either by the King or Council, without a legal cause alledged*: This Opinion of the House was reported to the Lords, at a Conference, by Sir Edmund Coke, Sir Dudley Diggs, Mr. Selwen, and Mr. Littleton; Sir Dudley Diggs citing Acts 25. Ver. 27. *It seemeth an unreasonable thing, to send a prisoner, and not withall to signify the Crimes laid against him*.

This businesse stuck very much in the Lords House, who were willing that the Nails should be pared, not the hands tied of the *Prerogative*; several and great Debates there were about it, the Attorney pleading eagerly, though impertinently for the King; and the ancient Records were so direct for the People, and so strongly enforced, as the Attorney had no more to say, but, *I refer my self to the judgment of the Lords*. And when these Lords were to give judgment concerning it, the Ducal or Royall Party, for they were both one, were so prevalent, as they who leaned the other way, durst not abide the trial by vote, but calling the Lord Keeper down, moulded the House into a Committee, until the Lords say made a motion, *That they who stood for the Liberties, (being effectual about fifty) might make their Protestation, and that to be upon Record; and that the other opposite party should also, with subscription of their Names, enter their Reasons, to remain upon Record, that Posterity might not be to seek, who they were, who so ignobly betrayed the Freedom of our Nation; and that this done, they should*

should proceed to vote, At which the Court-party were so danted, as they durst not mutter a syllable against it.

Personal Liberty being thus settled, next they fall upon Liberty of Goods, the unbilleting of Souldiers, and nulling of *Martiall Law* in times of Peace; and finding *Magna Charta*, and six other Statutes explanatory of it, to be expressely on their side, they petitioning the King, to grant them the benefit of them: Whereupon he declared himself by the Lord Keeper to them;

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That He did hold the Statutes of *Magna Charta*, and the six other insisted upon for the Subjects Liberty, to be all in force, and assured them that He would maintain all his Subjects in the just freedome of their Persons, and safety of Estates. And that He would govern according to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm; and that his People should find as much security in his Royal Word and Promise, as in any Laws they could made. So that hereafter they should have no cause to complain; and therefore he desired no doubt nor distrust might possesse any man, but that they would proceed speedily and unanimously on vvith their business.

This Message begat a new Question, whether, or no, his Majesty should be trusted upon his word. Some thought it needlesse, because his Oath at the Coronation, binding him to maintain the Laws of the Land, that Oath was as strong as any Royal Word could be: Others were of Opinion, that should it be put to Vote, and carryed in the Negative, it would be infinitely dishonourable to him in Forein Parts, who would be ready to say, The People of England would not trust their King.

At

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1628.

The Petition
of Right.

At length in the height of this Dispute, stands up Sir Edward Coke, and thus informed the House, *we sit now in Parliament, and therefore must take his Majesties word no otherwise then in a Parliamentary way; that is, the King sitting on his Throne in his Robes, his Crown on his head, his Scepter in his hand, in full Parliament; that is, both Houses being present: all these circumstances observed, and his Assent being entred upon Record, make his Royal word the word of a King in Parliament, and not a word delivered in a Chamber, or, at second hand, by the mouth of a Secretary, or Lord Keeper.* Therefore, his Motion was, That the House should (more majestically) according to the Customs of their Predecessors, draw a Petition (*de Droit*) of Right to his Majesty; which being confirmed by both Houses, and assented to by the King, would be as firm an Act as any.

This Judgment of so great a Father in the Law, at this time, ruled all the House; and accordingly a Petition was framed, and at a Conference presented to the Lords; the substance whereof, after the recital of several Statutes, relating to the privilege of the Subject, was reduced to these four Heads:

I.

They do pray your most Excellent Majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any Gift, Loan, Benevolence, Tax, or such like charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or to take such Oath, or to give attendance, or be confin'd, or otherwise molested, or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof.

II.

And that no Free-man be taken, and imprisoned, or be disseised of his Free-hold or Liberty, or his free Customs, or be out-lawed, or exiled, but by the lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land.

III.

And that your Majesty would be pleased to remove the Souldiers and Mariners now Billeted in divers Counties, and that your People may not be so burthened in time to come.

IV.

That the late Commissions, for proceeding by Marshall-Law, may be revoked and annulled, and that hereafter no Commission of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever to be executed, lest by colour of them any of your Majesties Subjects be destroyed, and put to death, contrary to Law, and the Franchises of the Land.

All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent Majesty, as their Rights and Liberties, according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; And that your Majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that all awards, doings, or proceedings to the prejudice of your People, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence and example.

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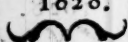
The Passe of this Petition was a great while disputed earnestly between the Lords and Commons; the Lords had a more concerning interest in the Prerogative, as that which gave them their first existence, and present subsistence; and this Petition they thought would detrench too much, and, some thought, strike at the very root of that Prerogative, so that they suspended their assent: yet because they would seem not altogether to abandon the Publique, they model'd an Addition of Saving (as they called it) and desired the Commons it might be annexed to the Petition; the Addition was, *We present this our humble Petition to your Majesty, not onely with care to preserve our own Liberties, but with regard to leave intire that Sovereign Power, wherewith your Majesty is trusted for the Protection, safety, and happiness of your People.*

This Addition would not down with the Commons, who imagined, it would make the Petition so much Royallist, as it would signifie nothing, as to the Subjects benefit, and would prove self destructive. A Conference was had with the Lords, and Mr. Noy sent to signifie the Reasons and Resolution of the Lower-House, but the Peers received little satisfaction: thereupon a second was desired, and being managed by Sir Henry Martin, and Serjeant Glanville; at length the Lords were perswaded to comply: then it was presented to the King without any such saving Label. His Majesty desired time to consider of it, yet did not long delay them; for as his own gracious inclination disposed him to give much; so he thought it expedient in that conjunction of time, to give more for expedition in reference to his necessary Supplies; and within five dayes after, gave them this ensuing answer.

The King willeth, that right be done according to the Laws and Customs of the Realm, and that the Statutes be put in due execution, that his Subjects may have

The Kings
first Answer.

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no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just Right and Liberties ; to the preservation whereof he holds himself, in conscience, as well obliged, as of his Prerogative.

The King was confident this Answer would have pleased to purpose ; for as he was far from any mental reservation or equivocation, so was he studious it should be worded adequate to their desires, & was astonisht to hear it was not satisfactory ; but it seems it was too elaborate, and that the King had put too much cost into it ; for the sense was not, it seems, the essence ; and though the matter was *sans exception*, yet because not agreeable to the usuall mode, disliked ; for formality was the formall part of it ; therefore the Parliament agreed to petition for a new Answer of the old Modell : but before that Petition was framed, his Majesty unexpectedly surpris'd them with this Speech.

His second
Answer.

The Answer I have already given you, was made with so good deliberation, and approved by the Judgment of so many Wise-men, that I could not have imagined, but that it should have given you full satisfaction ; but to avoid all ambiguous Interpretations, and to shew you there is no doubleness in my meaning, I am willing to please you in words, as well as in substance. Read your Petition, and you shall have an Answer, that I am sure will please you.

The

The Petition being read, his Majesty answered,

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Le droict soit faict comme il est desire. *This I am sure is full, yet no more then I granted you in my first answer; you see now, how ready I have shewed my self to satisfie your Demands, so that I have done my part; wherefore, if this Parliament hath not an happy conclusion, the sin is yours, I am free.*

The King having ended, the Houses testified their joy with a mighty shout, and presently the Bells rung, and Bone-fires were kindled all the City over; nor was the true cause so distinctly known; for many apprehended at first, that the King had delivered the Duke up to them to be sent to the Tower, upon which misprision some said the Scaffold on Tower-hill was instantly pulled down, the People saying, *His Grace should have a new one.*

It was also said, that the House of Lords made suit to the King upon this happy accord, that he would be pleased to receive into Grace those Lords who were in former disfavour, which he readily yielded to, and admitted the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of Lincoln, the Earls of Essex, Warwick, Bristol, and the Lord Say to kiss his hand.

The Petition thus granted, the Commissions of Loan and Excise were instantly out-lawed, and at the entreaty of the House of Peers cancelled in the Kings presence. Having thus secured the Faults, they removed the Faulty; and resolved upon a large Remonstrance to the King, ripping up both the grievances themselves, and the Authors of them. This Remonstrance consisted of six Branches, in sum these:

1. *The danger of Innovation, and alteration in Religion. This occasioned by,* 1. *The great esteem and favours many Professors of the Romish Religion receive at Court.* 2. *Their publique resort to Maiss at Denmark house, contrary to his Majesties Answer to the Parliaments Petition at Oxford.* 3. *The Letters for stay of proceedings against them.* Lastly, *the daily growth of the Arminian Faction, favoured and protected by Neal, Bishop of Winchester, and Laud, Bishop*

The parliaments Remonstrance.

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shop of Bathe and Wels, whilest the Orthodox party are silenced, or discountenanced.

2. The danger of Innovation, and alteration in Government, occasioned by the Billeting of Souldiers, by the Commission for procuring one thousand German Horse and Riders, as for the defence of the Kingdome, by a standing Commission granted to the Duke to be General at Land in times of peace.

3. Disasters of our Designs, as the expedition to the Isle of Rhe, and that lately to Rochel, wherein the English have purchased their dishonour with the waste of a million of treasure.

4. The want of Ammunition, occasioned by the late selling away of
36. Last of Powder.

5. The decay of Trade by the loss of three hundred ships taken by the Dunkirkers and Pirats within these three last years.

6. The not guarding the narrow Seas, whereby his Majesty hath almost lost the Regality.

Of all which evils and dangers, the principal cause is the Duke of Buckingham his excessive power, and abuse of that power. And therefore they humbly submit it to his Majesties wisdom, whether it can be safe for himself, or his Kingdome, that so great power both by Sea and Land as rests in him, should be trusted in the hands of any one Subject whatsoever.

This Remonstrance being finished on Tuesday, June 17. they presented it, as an Appendix, with the Bill of Subsidies to the King, in the Banqueting house, who having heard it out, told them, he little expected such a Remonstrance, after he had so graciously passed the *Petition of Right*: As for their grievances, he would consider of them, as they should deserve. Some say, that at his passage out, the King gave the Duke his hand to kisse, which others onely suppose was no more then the Dukes low congie to his Majesties hand.

It is also reported, that the King being informed, that Mr. Denzil Hollis had an hand in this Remonstrance, he replied in the words of *Julius Caesar*, *Et tu Brute!* I wonder at it, for we two were fellow Revellers in a Masque together.

Some unkindnesse also happened between the Lords and Commons concerning the Bill of Subsidies, in the grant whereof the Commons had either industriously excluded, or incuriously omitted these words, *The Lords, Spiritual and Temporal*; and the Lords expostulating with indignation, the cause of their omission, answer was returned, *That some Acts had heretofore passed so, yet nevertheless, if their Lordships would return the Bill, their names should, if they pleased, be inserted*: whereat the Lords in some anger said, *And are not we as able to put them in our selves, as they were to leave us out?*

Three dayes before this, Dr. *Manwaring* was questioned for some seditious passages in two Sermons preached, one before the King, the other at his own Parochiall Church, wherein he asserted,

1. That the Kings Royal Command in imposing without common consent in Parliament Taxes and Loans, doth so far bind the conscience of the Subjects of this Kingdom, that they cannot refuse the payment of them, without perill of eternal damnation.

2. That Authority of Parliament is not necessary for the raising Aids and Subsidies.

These things being too evident to be denyed, and too grosse to admit of qualification, his sentence was;

1. Imprisonment, during the pleasure of the House.

2. Fine, one thousand pound to the King.

3. To make such submission and acknowledgment of his offences as shall be set down by a Committee in writing, both at the Bar of the Lords House, and at the House of Commons.

4. To be suspended for three years from the exercise of the Ministry.

5. To be disabled from ever preaching at Court hereafter.

6. To be disabled for ever, from having any Ecclesiastical dignity or secular Office.

7. That as his Book is worthy to be burnt, so his Majesty may be moved to grant a Proclamation for the calling it in, as also for the burning of it.

According to the third member of which sentence, two days after he made his submission on his knees.

Whilest the Parliament was busie about this Doctor, the King was as busie about their late Remonstrance, to which he formed a formall answer, traversing and denying all their charge: wherewith the Commons, being somewhat irritated, (for it was a smart one) fell down right upon another Remonstrance, against Tonnage and Poundage. But the King was unwilling to hear of any more Remonstrances of that nature, therefore resolved to frustrate it by Proroguing of the Parliament unto October the 20. June the 26. being the last of this Session, his Majesty calling both Houses together, before his Royall assent to the Bills, delivered his mind as followeth:

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Dr. Manwaring questioned.

And censured,

N 2

My

An. Christi
1628.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT may seem strange, that I come so suddainly to end this Session; therefore before I give my assent to the Bills, I will tell you the cause, though I must avow I ow an account of my actions to none but God alone. It is known to every one, that a while ago, the House of Commons gave me a Remonstrance, how acceptable every man may judge, and for the merit of it, I will not call that in question, for I am sure no wise man can justifie it.

Now, since I am certainly informed, that a second Remonstrance is preparing for me, to take away my profit of Tonnage and Poundage, (one of the chief Maintenanances of the Crown) by al-leadging that I have given away my right thereof, by my Answer to your Petition;

This is so prejudicial to me, as I am forced to end this Session some few hours before I meant it, being not willing to receive any more Remonstrances, to which I must give an harsh answer.

And since I see, that even the House of Commons begins already to make false constructions of what I granted in your Petition, lest it be worse interpreted in
the

the Countrey, I will now make a Declaration concerning the true intent thereof.

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The Profession of both Houses, in the time of hammering this Petition, was no ways to trench upon my Prerogative, saying, They had neither intention, nor power to hurt it.

Therefore, it must needs be conceived, that I have granted no new, but onely confirmed the ancient Liberties of my Subjects. Yet, to shew the clearness of my Intentions, that I neither repent, nor mean to re-cede from any thing I have promised you, I do here declare, That those things which have been done, whereby men had cause to suspect the Liberty of the Subject to be trencht upon (which indeed was the true and first ground of the Petition) shall not hereafter be drawn into example for your prejudice; And in time to come, (in the Word of a King) you shall not have the like cause to complain.

But as for Tonnage and Poundage, it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to aske, never meant (I am sure) by me to grant.

To conclude, I command you all that are here, to take notice of what I have
spo-

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spoken at this time, to be the true intent and meaning of what I granted you in your Petition; But especially you my Lords the Judges, for to you only, under Me, belongs the interpretation of the Laws: for none of the Houses of Parliament joynt, or separate (what new Doctrine soever may be raised) have any power, either to make, or declare a Law without my consent.

The Parliament being thus prorogued, the Commons were exceedingly male-content, for they desired onely a Recesse, and Adjournment, whereby all matters then depending, might be found in the same station and condition at their next Meeting, wherein they at that present left them.

This Session were enacted these Laws :

1. For further Reformation, of divers abuses committed on the Lords-Day, commonly called Sunday,
2. To restrain the passing or sending of any to be Popishly bred beyond the Seas,
3. For the better suppressing of unlicensed Ale-house keepers,
4. For continuance and repeal of divers Statutes,
5. For the establishing of the Estates of the Tenants of Brumfield and Yale in the County of Denbigh; and of the Tenures, Rents, and services thereupon reserved, according to a late Composition made for the same, with the King, then Prince of Wales,
6. For the Confirmation of the Subsidies, granted by the Clergie,
7. For the Grant of five entire Subsidies, granted by the Temporality.

But above all, famous to all Posterity, is this Session, for his Majesties gracious Answer to that gallant Standard of Common-Liberty, The Petition of Right. Never did Arbitrary Power, since Monarchy first founded, so submittere fasces, so vail its Scepter ;

pter; never did the Prerogative descend so much from perch to popular lure, as by that concession, a Concession able to give satisfaction, even to supererogation for what was amiss in all the Kings by-past Government.

During this Session, many things occurred, worthy to be recorded; which, because forein to the *Parliament* affairs, I reserved as a *Postscript*, being loath to make a simultaneous medley of various actions, shuffled together without dependence upon either antecedent, or subsequent Narrations.

May the 8. the Earl of *Denbigh*, as Admiral, set sayl from *Plymouth*, with about fifty sayl of tall ships, for the relief of *Rochel*, and being scanted in Mariners, he was enforced to take in two thousand two hundred land-men, who should be amphibious, serving partly for Sea-men, and partly for Land-souldiers; with this Power he made an attempt toward the relief of the town, but was repelled much to our losse, but more to our dishonour; so as he presently betook himself to a speedy return, arriving at *Phymouth* the 26. of the same month. The supposed Author of this Disaster, was one *Clark*, a Bedchamber man, and a chief Commissioner in all our former improsperous Expeditions: who, because a supposed Papist, was conceived to have industriously betrayed us to this and former miscarriages.

The same month, but with greater honour, was *Stoadt* our *English* Garrison, some 20. miles from *Hamborough*, on the other side of the *Elbe*, given up to the *Imperialists*, *Sir Charles Morgan* having bravely and stoutly defended it: the Conditions were, that the Garrison souldiers should never bear arms against the *Emperour*, but at the command of their own King.

June the 13. Doctor *Lamb*, a Creature of the Dukes, commended to him by Bishop *Williams*, suffered for the testimony of a lewd conversation. Having bin at a Play-house, at his return, some boys began to affront him, and call him the *Dukes Devil*, whereupon he hired some to guard him home, and taking in at a Cooks shop where he supt, the people watcht his coming out, but he was so strongly guarded, as they durst not venture on him: then he went to the Wind-mill Tavern in *Lothbury*, and at length coming forth, the Tumult being much encreased, gave the Onser, and assaulted him, so as he was forced to take refuge in the next house; but the enraged multitude threatned to pull down the house, unlesse *Lamb* were speedily delivered to them. The Master of the house was a Lawyer, and fearing some sad consequence of this uproar, discreetly sends for four Constables to guard him out. But the furious multitude flew at him, in the midst of his Auxiliaries, struck him down, and maled him, so as they beat out one of his eyes, and left him half dead upon the place.

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The relief of
Rochel attempted, but in
vain.

Stoadt surrendered.

Dr. *Lamb* his
exemplary
death.

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In this plight, he was carryed into the Counter in the *Poultry*, no other house being willing to receive him, where the next morning he changed this life either for a better, or for a worse.

A most infamous and graceless Wretch he was, twice had he been arraigned, once for a Witch, and practising his hellish art upon the Lord *Windsor*, another time for a Rape at the Kings-bench Bar at *Westminster*, where, to the astonishment of all then present, he proceeded to such prodigious insolence, as to say in the audience of the whole Court, *I wonder any should think I would commit such an act upon so despicable a Creature as this* (meaning his Accuser) *when had I been so disposed, I could have had my choice of the handsomest Ladies in the Court.* Some considerable circumstances must not be forgot, by reason of their coherence with this Relation.

It is certain, that not full a year before, he fore-told, that he should perish in the streets, by the fury of the People. Some say, that when the Multitude were belabouring him with stones, and cudgels, they said, *That were his Master the Duke there, they would give him as much.*

Some things also were of ominous observation, in reference to the Duke; for on the same day that *Lamb* was slain, the Dukes picture fell down in the High Commission Chamber at *Lambeth*. But that which was most notable, was, that when these and the like accidents were spoke of, as fore-boding something of present fatality to the Duke, in the Lady *Davis* her hearing; she, for certain, reply'd, *No his time is not come till August.* This added to her former Prediction, concerning this Parliament, and both verifi'd in the event, rear'd the Lady up to the fame of a great Prophetess: and yet this could be in the very Devil himself, but a nude conjecture; for though he had found the minds of men very susceptible of, and disposed to receive a temptation to such a fact, which he was resolved to suggest at that time; yet that the act it self should be executed precisely then, guess he might, prognosticate he could not; for in things determined in their natural causalities to certain and definite effects, not onely Devils, but wise men, where miracle interposeth not, may infallibly divine the products: but in things contingent upon free and voluntary Agents, all the Devils in Hell can but blunder.

On the Munday after the Lord Maior and Aldermen of the City were sent for to appear at the Councel Table, and to give an account of the uproar about *Lamb*, and were threatned, that unless they discovered, and rendred up the Malefactors, they should forfeit their Charter, and in the upshot were fined, as was reported six thousand marks.

This

This Session ended, the King finding as he thought so malevolent a gloss started from his late Act of Grace, conceived it stood him in hand to stand upon his guard, and to make the best improvement of the small remnant of Prerogative which he had left; to which purpose instruments of working and active brains were sought out, and finding the Earl of *Marlborough* (the then Lord Treasurer) too dull and phlegmatick for his imployment, he removed him, and lifted up the late Lorded Sir *Richard Weston* into his place, a man of most accomplit qualifications for his design; and about the same time dignified Sir *Thomas Wentworth* of *Yorkshire* with a Barony, though one of the late Committee in forming the unpleasant Remonstrance, and a stickler against the Prerogative; but this beam of Majesty as it did hear, so did it soften the temper of the man, so as he became thence forward most flexible to his service. The favour of a Prince, and high Place, a consequent of it, operate wonderfully upon the spirit of man, no influence (lesse then Divine) like to it: for though vertue be onely mercehary to its self, and is its own reward, yet will not souls, no nor of the largest dimensions, in pursuit thereof, disdain to take the spur of Honour.

In the beginning of *August* came forth a Proclamation against Papists, but especially against Jesuits and Priests, a sort of men in the state of *England*, like the Mathematicians, and Astrologers under the *Roman* Empire, *always*, as the Historian sayes, banished, yet *always* staid behind.

But the great business of this vacation was, the setting forth a third Fleet for *Roghel*, then which there never before appeared a more gallant *Armado* formed by our Nation; and because so noble a preparation must be suitably commanded, the Duke resolved to give the venture once more.

But whilest he was in pursuit of this enterprize, he was rapp'd and hurried into another world by a most abrupt and untimely death.

For on the Vigil, the Eve of *St. Bartholomew*, the 23. of *August*, being at breakfast at *Portsmouth* with *Soubize*, and others of principall quality, one *John Felton* (sometimes a Lieutenant to a Foot Company in the Regiment of Sir *John Ramsey*) who had but about a week before meditated the act, but had not yet contrived the means, sneaks into the Chamber, vigilant to observe every opportunity serviceable for his purpose; and finding the Duke ready to rise from the Table, he with-drawes into an entry, through which the Duke was to passe, who coming by with Sir *Thomas Frier*, (to whom he declined his ear in the posture of attention) in the very instant of Sir

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Earl of Marlborough removed.

Sir Richard Weston preferred.

Genus hominum quod in civitate nostra & vetabitur semper & retinebitur, Tacit. Hist. 1.

The Duke murdered.

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Thomas his retiring from the Duke, Felton with a back blow, stabb'd him on the left side into the very heart, leaving the knife, a ten penny coutel, in his body. The Earl of Cleveland and some others who were in the hearing of the thump, reported, That the most religious murderer, in the very act of striking, said, *Lord have mercy on thy Soul*; a speech, which the Duke had scarce ability to say for himself; for, pulling the knife out, presently, the orifice being wide, there streamed such an effusion of blood, and consequently such an emission of spirits, as he only was heard to say, (some report with an oath) *The Villain hath killed me*; and then expired. All this while the assassinate pass'd undiscovered (a fair advantage, had he been studious of escape) and the general voice passing currant up and down, that he was a *French-man*. Felton, (like an ingenuous villain) with an undaunted courage, avowed himself the author of it. Many are said to be his instigations to this execrable act. He had long, and in vain, attended for his arrears of pay due for former service. Again, he was twice repulsed upon his Petition for a Captains place, and others super-inducted over his head. It was thought these extimulated and whetted him on to rancour, and it is like he had prejudicated some such construction would be made of it; and conceiving the supposition of private revenge would infame and blemish the glory of the exploit, presuming he should encounter inevitable destruction, he stitched a paper to the lining of his hat, wherein he declared, *His onely motive to the fact was, the late Remonstrance of the Commons against the Duke, and that he could not sacrifice his life in a nobler cause, then by delivering his Country from so great an enemy.*

Two things, as especially, and almost singularly observeable after his fall, may not be omitted.

Things memorable after his fall.

First, no sooner had he expired his last, and his body shifted into another room, but the Corps was totally abandoned, not a living soul was to be seen a great while in either Chamber, that where he dyed, or that whereinto he was removed; either because they durst not trust fancy with a spectacle so horrid, or because they feared some further assassination. The like fate, if History be truly informed, attended the Body of our first *Nor-man King*.

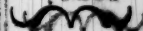
Secondly, that the first news thereof finding his Majesty (then about four miles distant) at his publique devotions, he received it without the least emotion of spirit or discomposure of countenance: which equanimity some imputed to his steady intention upon that sacred dury: others thought, that though he disliked the mode and way of his dispatch, yet with the thing he was well enough pleased, as if providence had

The Reign of King Charles.

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had thereby rid him of the Subject of his so great perplexity, whom he could not preserve with safety, nor desert without honour. But these were soon convinced of their error, when they observed his Majesty treat his relations with so intense respect.

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But whatsoever satisfaction the King received thereby, certain it is, it pleased the Common man too well; for though Christianity and the Law found the last murtherer, yet in vulgar sense it rather past for an execution of a Malefactor, and an administration of that justice dispensed from Heaven, which they thought was denied on Earth. And because all those storms or publique miscarriages generated in the lower Region of the Parliament, had of late been terminated in him, as their grand efficient, every man would now be wise and fore-speak fair weather, and harmony between the King and Subject; how truly, a few months will discover.

The Commons
rejoyce.

His leaving a will behind him, imports he did somewhat premeditate death. Therein he bequeathed to his Dutchesse the fourth part of his Lands for her Joynture. His debts amounted to sixty one thousand pounds, his Jewels (most belonging to the late Queen) were prized at three hundred thousand pounds.

His Will.

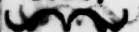
His Funeral was nothing solemn, his body being interred clandestinely the 25. of September, attended with about an hundred Mourners. The Heralds were indeed sent for by the Lord Treasurer a week before, to project a sumptuous Funeral for him; and, according to order, they brought in large proportions, it was thought exceeding those in the Obsequies of King James. But at length, upon second thoughts, the Treasurer told the King, *Such pomp would prove but an hours shew, and that it were more for his glory, to erect him a stately Monument, which he might do for half the cost.* The King liked the motion well, and after the Dukes Burial, put the Treasurer in mind of what he had contrived, wishing him to see it done: Then the Treasurer reply'd, *Sir, I would be loath to tell your Majesty, what the world would say both here, and abroad, if you should raise a Monument for the Duke, before you erect one for your Father.* Whether this cleanly and cunning diversion flowed from the Treasurer, his no singular good-will to the Duke; or from a provident regard to his Masters purse, let others determine.

His Funeral.

His Character.

Thus fell this miracle of grandure in the 36. year of his age, a Race he might, in the ordinary rode of nature, have doubled. A Gentleman he was of that choice and curious make, for exterior shape, as if Nature had not in his whole frame drawn one line amiss; nor was his *brique* raised by soft and

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limber studs, but sturdy and virile. His intellectuals, gained him rather the opinion of a wise man, then of a wit. His skill in Letters very mean; for finding nature more indulgent to him in the ornaments of the body, then of the mind, the tendency of his youthfull genius, was rather to improve those excellencies, wherein his choice felicity consisted, then to addict himself to morose and sullen bookishnesse: therefore his chief exercises were, Dancing, Fencing, Vaulting, and the like, as indications of strenuous agility: yet, could he have foreseen where all the climacteries and motions of his Advancement should have terminated, that from no more then a meer Gentleman, it should be his luck to vault into the Dignity of a *Duke*, and Trust of a Privy Counsellor, we may presume his early studies would not have cast so much neglect upon a thing so important to him as a Statesman, though not very fashionable as a Courtier. The temperature of his mind was, as to morall habits, rather disposed to good then bad; his deportment was most affable and debonair; a rare example in one raised so high, and so speedily; to his relations liberall, firm to his friend, formidable to his enemy. From Venereal excursions I cannot totally acquit him. He was a Courtier and young man, a Profession and Age, prone to such desires, as when they tend to the shedding of no mans blood, to the ruine of no Family, humanity sometimes connives at, though she never approves. Of his Religion, they who write most in favour of him, speak little; whereof if he was too incurious, His condition the more deplorable, when surpris'd by so suddain a death as afforded him not the respiration of auricular contrition. But seeing God is accostable by inorganicall and inaudible ejaculations, and no time is too short to exclude such an infinite mercy, charity wills, we hope the best.

The last attempt toward
Rochels relief.

This Tragique accident of the Dukes did so little impede the motion, of the Fleet, as it is a question whether or no it did at all retard it: for the King did with such personal assiduity, such diligence hasten the furnishing of it with all necessaries both of provision and munition, as he dispatcht more of concernment to it in ten or twelve dayes, then the Duke did in so many moneths before: so that on the eighth of September following departed from *Portsmouth* the Earl of *Lindsey*, (a Gentleman full of gallantry and courage) commanding in chief: but before his coming, the Cardinal had finish't his prodigious Boom and Barricado, through which it was impossible to break. Many and brave attempts (though some of his Captains flinch't, either in resolution, or obedience) he had made, and the last began to promise hopes of good successe; for the foremost Ships came up to the very mouth of the Bar, and when they

they were ready to enter the palle, the wind at that very moment whisked about into an opposite point, and drave them dangerously foul one upon another.

This the *Rochellers* observing from the Walls, gave all for lost, and presently set open their gates; sending out their principall men, not as Commissioners to treat, but as submissive Missives humbly to implore the Kings mercy: which *Lewes* most compassionately granted them, and entred the City, *Octob.* the 18. in so civill discipline, as not the least outrage was committed: indeed famine, and other Marriall calamities had made havock enough before, four thousand being the onely remains of twenty two thousand souls. The mighty Works of Fortification were instantly slighted, and the Town suffering a change of name as well as nature, was ordered to be called from the *Queen Mother*, *Borgo Maria*.

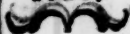
But if *Rochel* was lost Thus, that is, no otherwise then this Narrative declares; what shall we then think of Common Fame, which hath thrown part of her Ruines upon King *Charles* his head? Either that Charge, or this History must be false: for the faith of this I must be accountant, wherein if I have digressed from the clear evidence of fact, let me suffer. The main Objection against this King is, He lent the *French King* seven Ships, and with the help of these the *Rochel Fleet* was destroyed. So then King *Charles* lent but seven, whereas the *Hollanders* lent twenty, and lent them directly and articulately against *Rochel*: yet they were never under any such imputation: but the more numerous the complices, usually the greater is the impunity, not so the innocence; and this is no just answer. I hope this is: First, King *Charles* lent none; the Loan was from King *James*; and he who knowes not this, must not pretend to any cognisance of State Transactions. King *Charles* onely performed what his Father promised. Secondly, neither were they lent, nor actually sent against *Rochel*; nay, with expresse caution to the contrary, and the mis-employment of them the main ground of our breach with *France*, as appeareth by the *Dukes Manifesto*. Lastly, this Objection speaks English onely, not a syllable of it in any transmarine Authour, no nor in any of those who understood the posture of those transactions better then we, and whose concernment in the losse might better warrant them to make it. In the *Memorials* of the Duke of *Rohan*, not a word of any such accusation: the worst, indeed all, they say of our King in this Affair, relates to the ayd he sent for, not at all to that he sent against them; and that is, *Either his Commands were feigned, or ill obeyed*. That they were feigned, there is little reason to suspect, the Action of *Rhe* is too sad a demonstration of the contrary, considering

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Rochel rendered.

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considering the persons, one especially, he did adventure there. If they were *ill obeyed*, the fault was none of his, who is not responsible for the failings of his Ministers. So that either King Charles must stand acquit of that aspersion, or Truth bring in other evidence against him. This is not more His then mine own Defence; for were his total vindication the concernment of this work, I were then to resolve other niceties. As,

It being granted, that the *Rochellers* were of the same belief with us, and that for the cause of Religion they were persecuted, yet whether a communication of Divine Principles, may sufficiently warrant a communication of Martiall power, for the protection of all those who are like minded with us; where they are the subordinates of a Civil Magistracy otherwise inclined?

Whether Christ came into the world to dispossesse any of their just Dominions, or to establish the truth of his Religion by force, either in the *Entry* or *Detenier*?

Lastly, Whether the pretended violation of *Lewes* his Promise, might honest and justifie our King's social arming in their behalf, or render him in a capacity to draw his sword for them, who in the opinion of many wanted it for themselves, and to take up Arms had provocations rather great, then just. But these are Questions for a Casuist, not for an Historian to decide.

Yet one Note may well become the margin of my Story, That not onely that very Sect, but of that very Church, for whose protection King Charles was so sollicitous, and whose suppartation he now so ardently endeavoured, became afterwards none of the meanest sticklers and somenters of his Own and this Churches Troubles. A Document to Kings to be wary whom they ayd.

Rochel thus surrendred, set our Fleet at liberty, so having nothing more to do, the Earl plies him home.

During this last expedition news came to our King of some dammage we had sustained; and, as bad news could not be welcome to him, so was he loath to hear it from his Parliament, and from them he questioned not but to hear what ever untowardly befell, should they sit according to their first intention; therefore hoping the event would render them more pleasing discourse, he adjourned the meeting till *January* the 20. In the interim there were severall emergences and occurrences which would give them their hands full. For the generality of the Merchants both of the *Turkey* and the *East-India* Company refused to pay a penny, under the notion of *Tönnage* and *Poundage*, which caused a mighty contest betwixt the King and

and them, he urging the practise of his Predecessors in taking; they, the validity of the *Petition of Right* in denying; so that divers of their goods were seized.

November 18. about four in the morning a lamentable fire seized upon the Lord *Wimbletons* house in the *Strand*, it being then the lodging of the *States Lieger Ambassador*, which consumed and demolished it with all the rich furniture and utensils to the ground; so ferocious and impetuous it was, as the *Ambassador*, his wife and children hardly, though half naked, escaped; all their other apparel, Jewels, money, &c. yea, even the Commission it self perisht in the combustion. Who was the incendiary, or how this calamity was occasioned, no man could tell; most thought it was an effect of the *Dutch disorders* the night before, who were notably tippled with feasting and jollities for a great prize taken by their Masters from the *Spaniards* near the *Bay of Matansa*, worth a million and a half of treasure. This accident was the more remarkable, because that very night that very Lords Countrey-house in *Surrey* was a great part blown up by a Candle-spark falling into a barrel of Gun-powder, which a Maid mistook for Soap.

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Wimbleton
house burnt.

Novemb. the 29. *Felton* having been arraigned, and found guilty at the *Kings Bench*, suffered at *Tiburn*. His confession was as sincere, and full of remorse as could be wished; the fact he much detested, and renounced his former error in conceiving it would be his glory to sacrifice himself for his Countreys good: and whereas other motives were suggested by report, he protested upon his salvation, that he had no other inducement then the *Parliaments Remonstrance*. His body was from thence transmitted to *Portsmouth*, and there hung in chains.

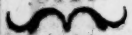
Felton executed.

The *Parliament* was now approaching, and something must be done to please them, and what could better please them then the gracing of their great Confident the *Archbishop of Canterbury*? therefore he was sent for to the Court about *Christmas*, and from out of his Barge received by the *Archbishop of York*, and *Earl of Dorset*, by them accompanied to the King, who giving him his hand to kisse, enjoyned him not to fail the *Council-Table* twice aweek. After this, *Montagues Book* called *Appello Casazem*, was called in by Proclamation; and a Declaration prefixt to the thirty nine Articles, restraining all dispute on either side concerning the five points controverted.

A Proclamation
on against
Papists.

There was then also published another Proclamation for the apprehending of *Richard Smith* the titular *Bishop of Chalcedon*. This Proclamation, saith *Mr. Pryn*, was procured at the earnest solicitation of the Regular Priests in *England* and *Ireland*, who violently

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Frederique E-
lector son to
the Prince
Elector
drowned.

The Parlia-
ment meet.

violently opposed Dr. Smiths Episcopal Jurisdiction; but Mr. Pryn was much mistaken, for that prosecution was not till the year 1630. as shall be evidenced hereafter. And the Impulsive to this proceeding against him, was his endeavour to have perverted some poor silly people in Lancashire; where the holy man appeared in his Pontificalibus, (as horned Mitre and Crozier) amongst a company of Geese.

January the 16. the Lord Doncaster son to the Earl of Carlile, brought very sad news to Court from the Hague, which put the King and all his train into mourning, viz. That Frederique Henry, eldest son to the Palzgrave, was unfortunately drowned in the Mere of Harlem, his Father the Palzgrave very narrowly escaping: they were going from the Hague to Amsterdam, out of a desire to see the great Prizes brought in, and entring into an Hoy on Harlem Mere, they were benighted, when suddenly rose a violent storm, which drave a greater Vessel, then riding in the Mere, so forcibly upon them, as stemm'd them; of about twenty persons there were but three saved, all the rest perisht; his Father was dragged out of the Mere with an iron hook. The Prince clasped his arms about the mast, cryed out for help, and Boats were sent out to relieve him, but the night was dark, and the weather so impetuous, as they could not find him untill morning, when they discovered him clinging about the mast, but stark dead; the Princesse his Mother was newly brought to bed, when this dolefull accident befell her, the news whereof drave her into a most vehement passion.

January the 20. the Parliament sate, who soon found they were like to have work enough: for complaints came thronging in, especially against the Customers for taking and distraining Merchants goods for Tonnage and Poundage, which the King taking notice of, called them to the Banqueting house, and told them;

The occasion of that Meeting was a complaint made in the Lower House for staying of some mens Goods, for denying Tonnage and Poundage, which difference might be soon decided, were his Words and Actions rightly understood. For, if he did not take those duties as appendixes of his Hereditary Prerogative, and

and had declared he challenged them not of right, and onely desired to enjoy them by the gift of his People, why did they not passe the Bill, as they promised to him, to clear his by-past actions and future proceedings, especially in this his time of so great necessity?

Therefore he did now expect they should make good what they promised, and put an end to all questions emergent from their delay.

The House of Commons said, That Religion is above Policy, God above the King; and that they intended to reform Religion before they ingage in any other consideration; nor was it agreeable to the liberty of consultation, to have their transactions prescribed, so that they would for the present lay aside the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage till they thought convenient. And they were as good as their words; for the first thing resolved upon, was the appointment of Committees, (which the Courtiers called an Inquisition). One for Religion, another for Civill affairs; and these to represent the abuses in both.

An. Christi,
1628.

Committees
appointed

The Committee for Religion declared, That upon due inspection they found it in a very tottering and declining condition. The dangers which most threatned it, were Arminianism and Popery.

Religion in
danger.

For Arminianism, they said, informations were very pregnant, That, notwithstanding the resolution of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other reverend Bishops and Divines assembled at Lambeth, Anno 1595. on purpose to deliver and declare their opinions concerning the sense of the 39. Articles in those particulars, unto which Resolution the Archbishop of York, and all his Province did then conform in their belief. That notwithstanding those Articles of Lambeth were so well approved of by King James, as he first sent them over, as the Doctrine of our Church, to the Convocation held in Ireland, to be inserted amongst the Articles of Religion there established, Anno 1615. as accordingly they were. And next, to the Synod of Dort, Anno 1618. where they were asserted by the suffrage of our British Divines:

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That notwithstanding many several Recantations and Censures inflicted upon the spreaders of those Errours, those very men so censured in open Parliament, as Mountague and Manwaring, (with Cozens and Sibthorp then under question also) had by the procurement and solicitation of Nele Bishop of Winchester, and the Earl of Dorset obtained their pardons under the great Seal, and were not onely sheltered under the Lee of Royal favour, but through the prevalence of the Bishops of Winchester and London, advanced to great preferment, whilst the Orthodox party were depressed, and under inglorious disdain, and the truth they served, was scarce able to protect them to impunity.

The hazard conceived from Rome, and the fear lest Tibur should overflow the Thames, flowed, they said, from partly the uncontrolled publishing of several points tending and warping that way, by Mountague, Goodman, Cozens, and others; and from the audacious obtruding of divers superstitious ceremonies by the Prelates, as erecting of fixed Altars, the dropping and cringing towards them, standing up at Gloria Patri. But these were but part-boyled Popery, but Popery oblique; the greatest danger was from Popery avowed.

And from this the danger (they said) appeared very great; Informations came daily in, of the mighty progresse and increase of it within these few years, the contest whereof was proved by these particulars: That (for Ireland) in the City of Dublin, there were lately erected thirteen Houses for Priests and Fryers to officiate in, more in number then the Parochial Churches for the Protestants. For Scotland, that the Papists have been of late very insolent and turbulent there. For England, that in some Counties they are multiplied to the number of some thousands of Families, more then there were in Queen Elizabeth her time; That of those ten who were apprehended at Clarksnewell, at the Sessions 3. of December last, three of Treason, and the rest of Premunire; and direct Treason proved against three of them at the Session, Mr. Selden being then present and testifying as much; yet by the artifice of the two chief Lord Justices, Hide, and Richardson, in suppressing Justice Longs evidence, nothing was done against them, save that one was condemned, and, the day before Execution, was reprieved, by warrant from the Chief Justice, who pretended he did it by the Kings Command. Lastly, the excessive resort of Romish Catholiques to Masse at Somerset House, being so frequent, yet so connived at; and the penalty of Statutes through his Majesties overmuch indulgence so dispensed with, little differing from a Toleration. This was the Certificate of the Committee for Religion.

The other for inspection into Civill affairs reported,

That upon search they find the Petition of Right printed with the Kings first Answer, which gave the Parliament no satisfaction, for which the Printer being questioned, he confessed upon examination, that

Abuses in the
Civil State,

that during the first Session of this Parliament one thousand five hundred Copies were printed authentique, and without that addition: and that since that Session he had order from the Atturney Generall to reprint it, with that Addition. That many Merchants have had their goods seised, and informations preserr'd against them in the Star-Chamber, for refusing to pay the customes of Tonnage and Poundage; Impositions against the tenour of the Petition of Right, and against the priviledge of Parliament, one of these Merchants, viz. Mr. Rolls, being a Member of the House of Commons.

For which misdemeanours Sir John Worsham, the Patentee of the Customes, Mr. Daves, and Mr. Carmarthen, shaters with him, were called to account. The King finding these men under the lash, steps in to bear off, or to bear the blows; tells the Parliament, That what they did was but as men addicted to his command, nor did he Commission them to take it as of right belonging to him, but out of a firm presumption that the House of Commons, suitable to their large professions, would grant it him by Bill; which he now exceedingly desired they would dispatch, and so put an end to this dispute.

To this the Parliament replied, That the Customers had no Warrant from his Majesty for all they did, as he did misunderstand, for they have diligently read his Majesties Warrant to the Customers, and it only impowerech them to levy and collect the moneys, but not to seize the Merchants goods, and are censurable for extravagants from their Commission. And as to the passing the Bill, they craved his Majesties pardon for a while, both because they were at present intent upon matters of Religion; and they hoped he would not be offended if they served God in the first place, and also because at present, his Majesty had put them out of capacity to do it; for in his Warrant, formerly mentioned, Tonnage and Poundage are declared to be a Principal revenue of his Crown; if so, he had no cause to demand, nor they to grant what was his own already; therefore unlesse that expression may be rectified, or cancell'd the Record, and his Majesty will be content that the Bill may expressly and positively set forth his no right to it, but by the gift of his subjects, they cannot rationally grant it. The King perceiving their intention still was to sever the Customers act from his command, thereby to make them the more exposed to censure for Delinquency, and judging it highly concerned his honour to indemnifie them, reiterated his desires again to them in a Message sent by Secretary Coke, That they would desist from further molesting these men, intimating withall, that what they did was by his speciall direction: The House in much distaste at this Message, instantly cry'd, *Adjourn, Adjourn*, and so they did, untill the Wednesday following, on which

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A great difference between the King and Parliament.

The Parliament adjourned.

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1629.

And again.

1629. A
newed some
the year 1629
1629. A

day the King also by the advice of his Privy Councel *Adjourned* them untill the 2. of *March*: hoping thereby, that giving them the more time to cool of themselves, it would soften their temper. But having certain intelligence from his correspondents in the *Lower House*, that the heat did rather intend then relax, he resolved to *Adjourn* again untill the 10. of *March*. But the House being met on the 2. of *March*, up riseth Sir *John Eliot* in the morning, and makes a tart and stinging speech against the Lord *Treasurer*, fixing all the ills both of Church and State upon him, and in particular charging him with a design of transferring the English Trade to Forrainers. What he then delivered, was in part prognosticated by the King, who knew it even an Embryo, and in the first conception; for it rarely happens, that what many know, none will discover, be it a secret of never so great importance, especially where men are, as these were, of a free and open spirit. Sir *John's* invective being ended, the Speaker declared a message from the King, commanding an *Adjournment* untill the 10. of that instant, wherewith the House being discontented, told him, It was not within the verge of his Office to deliver such a Message, that *Adjournment* properly belonged to themselves, and that in time convenient they would satisfie the Kings pleasure: then again upriseth Sir *John* with a *Remonstrance*, which he presented to the reading: but both the Speaker and Clerk refused it, and being restored to him, he read it himself, the substance being to this effect:

That they had taken into consideration the forming of a Bill for *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, but were so overlaid with the pressures of other businesse, and found that affair it self a matter so perplext with severall difficulties, which would require much leisure to discharge, that at that time accomplish it they could not, this present Session moving (as they conjectured) apace to determination. And lest his Majesty should hereafter (as formerly he did) incline to the advice of servile spirits, or be abused into a perswasion that he might legally and justly receive those Subsidies of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, they humbly declare to him, That the laying any such Imposition upon the Subject is contrary to the fundamentall Law of the Kingdom, and to his Majesties late Answer to the *Petition of Right*. And therefore they lowly crave his Majesty would for the future forbear such Taxes, and not to take ill the refusal of his people, to what is demanded by Arbitrary and unwarrantable power.

This *Remonstrance* being read, the Speaker was moved to put it to the Vote, whether it should be presented to the King, yea, or nay. But he craved pardon, alledging, That the King expressly

preſſy ordered him to leave the Houſe, and attempting to riſe from his Chair he was by force and ſtrong hand ſtayed, Mr. *Hollis* ſwearing, (ſo my information hath it) a deep Oath, that he ſhould ſit ſtill as long as they pleaſed; and when neither threats nor reproaches could prevail, Sir *Peter Hayman* moved Mr. *Hollis* to read theſe enſuing Articles as the Proteſtation of the Houſe.

An. Chriſti,
1629.

The Proteſtation of the Commons.

1. *whoſoever ſhall bring in Innovation of Religion, or by favour ſeek to introduce Popery or Arminianiſm, or other Opinions diſagreeing from the true and Orthodox Church, ſhall be reputed a Capital Enemy to this Kingdome and Common-wealth.*

2. *whoſoever ſhall counſel, or adviſe the taking and levying of the Subſidies of Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Parliament, or ſhall be an actor or inſtrument therein, ſhall be likewise reputed a Capital Enemy to this Common-wealth.*

3. *If any man ſhall voluntarily yield, or pay the ſaid Subſidies of Tonnage or Poundage, not being granted by Parliament, he ſhall be reputed a betrayer of the Liberties of England, and an Enemy to this Common-wealth.*

Theſe he pronouncing with a loud voyce, the Houſe gave their *Epiphonema* and applauſe at every cloſe and period.

Theſe diſtempers continued ſo long, and with ſo quick and high a pulſe, as the King had early notice of them, who forthwith ſent for the Serjant of the Mace, but the Houſe would not permit him to depart, but taking the Key of the door from him, gave it to Sir *Miles Hobart* a Member of the Houſe to keep. The King deeply incenſed at theſe exceedings of contempt, ſent *Maxwell Uſher* of the Black Rod to diſſolve the Parliament; but neither he nor his meſſage would be admitted, whereupon the King much enraged ſent for the Captain of the Penſioners, and the guard to force an entrance. But this Paſſion, that ſhut out the King, yet let ſo much reaſon in, as perſwaded them it was good ſleeping in a whole ſkin, and underſtanding the Kings intention, they ſuddenly voided the Houſe.

Soon after this, that very morning, the King came into the Lords Houſe, and beſpoke them thus;

My

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1628.

The Kings
Speech at the
dissolution of
the Parlia-
ment.

My Lords,

I Never came here upon so unplea-
sant an occasion, it being the disso-
lution of a *Parliament*; Therefore
men may have some cause to wonder,
why I should not rather chuse to do
this by Commission, it being a gene-
rall *Maxime* of Kings, to leave harsh
Commands to their Ministers, them-
selves only executing pleasing things.
Yet considering, that Justice as well
consists in reward and praise of virtue,
as punishing of vice, I thought it ne-
cessary to come here to day to declare
to you, and all the World, That it was
meerly the undutifull and seditious
carriage of the *Lower House*, that hath
made the dissolution of this *Parlia-
ment*. And you, my *Lords*, are so far
from being causes of it, that I take as
much comfort in your dutifull demean-
ours, as I am justly distasted with
their proceedings. Yet to avoid mi-
stakings, let me tell you, that it is so far
from me to adjudge all that *House*
guilty, that I know there are many
there as dutifull Subjects as any in the
world, it being but some few Vipers
amongst

amongst them, that cast this mist of undutifulness over most of their eyes; yet to say truth, there was a good number there, that could not be infected with this contagion, insomuch that some did expresse their duties in speaking, which was the general fault of the *House* the last day. To conclude, as these Vipers must look for their reward of punishment, so you, my Lords, must justly expect from me that favour and protection, that a good King oweth to his loving and dutifull Nobility.

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*And now my Lord Keeper do what
I Commanded you.*

The King having thus dissolved the *Parliament*, or rather broke up School, thought those whom he now called *Vipers* had not in the House of *Commons* spit up all their malignity, but reserved some to disperse and dispose of in the Countrey, whereby an ill odour might be cast upon his Government, and the hearts of his people alienated from him: as an Antidote therefore against that poyson, and to anticipate all mis-understanding, he speedeth out a Declaration, setting forth to all his Subjects the motives perswading him to dissolve the *Parliament*, and a breviat of all the transactions in this, and the former Session; withall minding them in the close of all, that the Duke of *Buckingham* was decry'd, while he lived, as the solitary cause of all bad events of former Parliaments; that he is dead, and yet the distempers not in the least abated, which he takes as an argument that they were mistaken in the cause, and that it was resident in some few members of the *Parliament*.

The King sets
forth a Decla-
ration.

Kings, love to be treated with the most obliging careffes and
debonair

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1628.

Naz. Epist.

Many Mem-
bers question-
ed.

debonair comportment that may be. And usually they derive asperity, not so much from innate and inbred proclivity, as from the protervity and incomplyingnesse of their people, an humour able to fowre and change the best dispositions. They who shall cast a reflex upon those wofull miseries which were the consequences of this unhappy dis-union, may perhaps find cause to think, they could not have been worse, possibly better, had the Parliament been more complacent. But 'tis no wonder to find failings in the concrete masse, when in *solutis principiis*, and taken asunder, every unit exhibits and sheweth no lesse. True it is, in assemblies so august, so majestique, all things should be managed with the greatest repose of passion, the Senatours should be like their Laws, void of anger. But men will be ever men whatsoever they be, be they Christians, wheresoever they be, be they convened in *Parliament*; their frailties, their passions, yea and their interests too, they will carry along with them, which made Gregory Nazianzen complain of *Councils*, *That he never saw any one end well*; and what he said of *Councils*, King Charles might with as much verity, have pronounced (as to his content) of *Parliaments*, not any one he summoned having had any termination other then disgustfull to him.

The King having, as he hoped, dis-abused the Subject by his late Declaration, next intended to proceed severely against those who had offended him, and whose punishment, he said, *he reserved to a due time*. Upon this account the 18. of this moneth, he sent for ten of the late Members to appear at the Council Table, viz. Mr. Hollis, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir John Eliot, Sir Peter Hayman, Mr. Selden, Mr. Stroud, Mr. Corison, Mr. Valentine, Mr. Long, Mr. Kirton. Those appearing, Mr. Hollis was interrogated, Wherefore (contrary to his former use) he did; the morning the *Parliament* was dissolved, place himself by the Chair, above divers of the Privie Counsellors?

He answered,

That he had some other times as well as then, seated himself in that place. And as for his sitting above the Privie Counsellors, he took it to be his due in any place whatsoever (unlesse at the Counsel-board): And, for his part, he came into the House with as much zeal to do his

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his Majestie Service as any one whatso-
ever ; And yet neverthelesse, finding his
Majestie was offended with him, he
humbly desired that he might rather be
the subject of his mercy, then of his
power.

To which the Lord Treasurer answered, You mean, rather
of his Majesties Mercy, then of his Justice.

Mr. Hollis reply'd, I say of his Ma-
jesties power, my Lord.

Sir John Eliot next call'd in, was questioned for words he
spake in the Lower-House of Parliament, and for producing the
last Remonstrance.

To this he answered,

That whatsoever was said or done by him in that place, and at that
time, was performed by him as a publick man, and a Member of that
House, and that he was, and ever will be ready to give an account of
his sayings and doings in that place whensoever he should be called
unto it by that House, where (as he taketh it) he is only to be ques-
tioned, and in the mean time being now but a private man, he would not
now trouble himself to remember what he said or did in that place as a
publick man.

Sir Miles Hobart was also questioned for locking the Parlia-
ment House door, and putting the key in his pocket : to which
he pleaded the Command of the House.

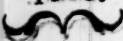
The other Gentlemen were questioned for reproving the
Speaker, and not permitting him to do what the King com-
manded him, who all alledged in their defence the Priviledge
of the House.

After this they were committed, some to the Tower, some to
the Gate-house, and some to the Fleet: and May the 1. the At-
turney sent a processe out against them to appear in the Star-
Chamber, and to answer an information to be entred there
against them : but they refused ; as denying the Jurisdiction
of that Court over offences done in Parliament : which created
the greatest and longest Controversie in Law that had been
started of many years.

About the latter end of March, the Marquesse Huntley (with
the Earls of Arol, Athol, Nidsdale, and Abercorn, of the Scottish
Nobility) came running away to the Court of England, as fast
as his old legs could carry him, being 72. years aged ; his cold

Scirs in Scot-
land about the
Marquesse
Huntley.

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Country being grown too hot for him : the occasion this ; The Marquesse was hereditary Sheriff of a great part of Scotland, where his Land lay. At *Aberdeen*, the Papists posted up a treacherous libel : not long after which, the *Priests* and *Jesuits* said Masse openly. This coming to the *Councils* hearing, they wrote to the *Marquesse*, as high Sheriff, to cause with all speed those *Priests* and their abettors to be apprehended, and safely sent to *Edinburgh*, yet not prescribing any certain day. The *Marquesse* took the Letters, neglected the service, and gave no account to the *Council* : whereupon they wrote a second Letter, commanding him that the service be done by a precise day, and that himself appear also before them to answer the contempt. Notwithstanding all this, the *Marquess* still neglected, and in stead of apprehending them, gave them notice to escape ; but sent in the interim to the *Council*, craving a longer day. The *Council* would not grant it, but instantly caused the *Herald* in his coat of *Arms* to wind the *Horn* thrice, and at every time to summon the *Marquess* and the *Earls*. None of which appearing, the *Herald* proclaimed them Rebels to the King and Kingdom. And while the *Council* was plotting to apprehend them, they took their flight for *England*.

The next moneth returned Sir *Henry Faxe* from the *Hugue*, his errand thither was to make a tender (formerly offered when the *Spanish* Match was on foot) to the Lady *Elizabeth* from the Emperour of thirty thousand pounds *per annum*, for her maintenance, and a place of habitation within the *Palatinate*, upon condition, she should send her eldest son to be educated in the Emperours Court, and to marry one of his Daughters : whereunto she (mistaking the message to be the Kings desire, which was but his bare proposal) magnanimously replied ; *I do honour my Brother of England, as becomes me, yet he is but a man, and may fail me ; God never forsook me yet, and I am confident never will. And rather then I would suffer my child to be bred in Idolatry, I would cut his throat with mine own hand.* So erect a mind had she in her lowest state.

This Spring the *Queen* (some say frightened with some boystrousnesse of a mastiff towards her little dogs in the Presence Chamber) not compleating her proper time of gestation, aborted of a son ; yet having life in him, her Priests were wondrous earnest to baptize him, but the King stepping in prevented them, and charged Dr. *Web* to officiate, and name him *Charles*. he lived about an hour, and then expired.

About the same time also, the *Seigniorie of Venice* by her Ambassadors was industrious to procure amity between the Crowns of *England* and *France*, and *Lewes* being in his *Trans-Alpine Expedition* at *Susa* for the relief of *Casal*, they procured it model'd into these ensuing Articles.

1. That

Peace between
France
and England.

An. Christi
1629.

1. *That the two Kings shall accord to renew the former Alliance betwveen the two Crowns, and to preserve it inviolable with free commerce. And in reference to the said commerce liberty is given, that such things be proposed, as either part shall judge convenient either to adde or diminish.*

2. *That, considering it is very difficult to make restitution of what hath been taken as prize, as well on one side as the other, during the late Wars; it is agreed between the two Crowns, that for what is past no satisfaction shall be demanded on either side.*

3. *As to the Articles and Contract of Marriage of the Queen of Great Britain, they shall be confirmed, and for what concerneth her Domestiques it shall be lawful to propose what shall be thought expedient to be either added or diminished.*

4. *All former Alliances shall stand good between the two Crowns, saving wherein they shall be changed by this present Treaty.*

5. *The two Kings being by this present Treaty remitted to the affection they formerly had, shall respectively imploy this correspondence toward the assistance of*
their

As: Christ.
1628.

their Allies (so far as the constitution of affairs, and the generall good will permit) for the procuring the repose of the troubles of Christendom.

6. The premises being established on both sides, Persons of eminency shall be reciprocally dispatcht as Ambassadors on either part, for ratification of the accord, and for nomination of Agents ordinarily resident at either Court, for the better preserving this union.

7. And because many Ships are now at Sea with Letters of Marque, who cannot suddenly take cognizance of this Peace, it is agreed, that what shall occur in the nature of hostility for the space of two moneths, on either side, shall not prejudice, nor derogate from this agreement. Provided notwithstanding, that what shall be made prize of within that space of two moneths after signature, shall be restored on either side.

8. Lastly, the two Kings shall respectively sign the present Articles, the 14. of this present month of April, and at the same time they shall be consigned into the hands of the Lords Ambassadors of Venice, to deliver reciprocally to the two Kings at a day prefixed. And from the day

day of signing all acts of hostility shall cease; to which end, Proclamation shall be issued out in both Kingdoms the 20. day of May.

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Nothing was wanting now to the perfecting of this League, but the ultime and compleating Act, the solemn confirmation by Oath. To which intent, Ambassadors were sent on both sides the September following. From England, Sir Thomas Edmunds, Controller of the Kings house. From France, the Marquess of Chasteau-neuf, who had both of them reception agreeable to the merit of the Design.

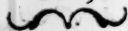
The King had all the reason in the world to bid peace welcome; for Martial Affairs, be they conducted by never so mature advice, or carryed on with never so gallant resolution, have yet a great dependence upon the arbitrement of Fortune; and Fortune the King had sadly felt, in the dispensation of Victory. ever lookt another way. Again, he was sinew-shrunk, and wanted money, the sinews of war, his Exchequer being profoundly dry, and one of the noblest and beneficial Springs, not obstructed, but cut off. This his condition, was observed abroad, as well as at home; and by his enemies, as well as friends; and his felicity it was, that those enemies which observed it, were in no capacity to make any other advantage of it then Overtures of Peace. And this was now the grand ambition of that ambitious Monarch, the King of Spain, who was by many late considerable misfortunes brought low. So low, as Pasquin posted him up in Rome, in a Fryers habit, asking Marforius, whose Picture that was; Marforius replied, The King of Spains. Pasquin demands the reason; Because, said Marforius, He had lately taken three vows upon him, One of Poverty, ever since the Hollanders took the West-India Fleet. The other of Obedience, since the French with words and gestures binely made them quit Casal, and all Montferrat. And lastly, of Chastity, when his grand Pimp the Conde de Olivares shall give him leave.

Overtures of
a peace with
Spain

To sollicit this Peate, Peter Reuben, the famous rich Painter of Antwerp, Secretary and Gentleman of the Chamber to the Arch-Duchess, as Agent, was transmitted hither, and bad very fair for it, tendering the restitution of the lower Palatinate, then which nothing was more magnetique and attractive; had the Spanish Faith been as good as his Gold: but that was reprobated all over the Western World; so as Marquesse Spinola being told of this prodigious offer, said, The King of Spain may gild his design with what promises he please; but sure I am, he meaneth nothing lesse then the restitution of the Palatinate. Antecedent experience

of

An. Christ
1629.



of the juggling practises of the *Spaniard*, did much retard the progress of the League, and *Reuben* was not plenipotentiary enough to accomplish that work; but it was reserved for a *Dan* of more illustrious grandure, and he was not yet arrived.

In *Trinity Term*, the Judges were much urged to declare their Opinions concerning the demurrer of the Gentlemen Prisoners, about the power of the *Star-chamber*; but that was a tender point, loth they were to displease the *King*, and as loth to blemish their reputation with prevaricating from the Law, so that they feigned many an excuse, and put off; at length, the *King* being at *Greenwich*, sent for them all twelve; Mr. *Attorney* was Turn-key, *pro tempore*, and let them in single at one door, and they went away at another. As they entred, one by one, the *King* commanded them to declare boldly, without respect to fear or favour under their hands what they thought; seven of them, by name, *Richardson*, *Yelverton*, *Hutton*, *Harvey*, *Crook*, the Lord chief Baron, and *Baron Denham*, these offered to subscribe their Opinions, That the *Star-Chamber* had no Jurisdiction over Parliamēt offences; the other five dissented, but refused to subscribe, whercat the *King* was exceeding wroth; and chid them soundly, as the betrayers of him, to the belief of what was repugnant to the Law.

A fray in
Fleetstreet.

Soon after the Term, *July* the 10, towards night, there happened a scurvy fray in *Fleetstreet*. For one Captain *Bellingham*, late at the *Isle of Rhe*, being that afternoon arrested, some Gentlemen of the *Temple* made an attempt towards his rescue so far, as some were hurt, and carryed to prison; thereupon the Gentlemen of the *Temple* assembled, made a Barricado about *St. Dunstons Church*; which the Lord Mayor being informed of, he and the Sheriffs, with a Band of Train men, came down and made Proclamation, That, upon pain of Rebellion, the whole Assembly should dissolve: But the Gentlemen prepared for resistance, and being armed with Swords and Pistols, to the number of 5. or 600. they gave fire upon the Lord Mayors Militia, killed out-right five, and wounded neer an hundred: The *King* was so highly incensed at the news of this uproar, as he presently sent for the Lord Chief Justice up to *London*, resolving to have a Session extraordinary, for the arraignment of the Malefactors: at which, being held in *Guild-Hall* about a Fortnight after, two Captains, *Alhurst*, and *Stamford*, (the *Dukes* servant, and famous *Wrastler*) were found guilty, condemned, and executed at *Tyburn*. *Stamfords* Relatives made great means to the *King* for his life: but he said; No, he murdered a watchman before, at *Duke Humphries*, for which he was pardoned, and having committed another, I will take order to prevent the third.

In the beginning of *November*, the Earls of *Bedford*, *Somerset*, and

and *Clare*, *Sir Robert Cotton*, *Mr. Selden*, *Mr. Saint-John*, and others, were committed, and an information entred in the *Star-Chamber* against them, for dispersing Copies of a Discourse, being a *Rhapsody of Projects*, tending to the augmentation of the *Kings Revenue*, and to discover an impertinence in Parliaments : It was pretended to have been penned for the instruction of the *King*, but it was a false suggestion, and discovered by *Sir David Fowles* upon Oath, that it was contrived about 1613. by *Sir Robert Dudley* (then living at *Florence*, under the title of Duke of *Northumberland*, being first Son to *Robert Earl of Leicester*, who was Son to *John Duke of Northumberland*) whereupon the Bill fell to the ground.

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January the 1. *Don Carlos de Colomas*, now twice Ambassadour from *Spain* to *England*, arrived, and had audience six days after, at the Banqueting-houle ; his deportment and mean was more debonaire then usual, and therefore promised better of his Negotiation.

The Pitcher that goes oft to the water, at length returns home crackt; and in *Hillary Term*, the *Gentlemen Prisoners* arguing their plea by their Counsel at the *Kings-Bench-Bar*, against the power of that Court, to question any thing done in Parliament, the *Judges* of the *Kings Bench* delivered their opinions positively, that their crimes were within the cognizance of the Court, For *esse*, said they, should a Parliament man commit murder in time of Parliament, he cannot be tryed nor arraigned untill a new Parliament ; and for confirmation of their Opinions, they quoted many Precedents, especially that of *Plowden* in *Queen Mary's time* ; who was fined in the *Kings Bench*, for words spoke in Parliament, against the Dignity of the Queen. Hereupon the *Gentlemen* had a time prefixt them to bring in their Answer; but they making several defaults, sentence was pronounced against them, they being deeply fined, and confined, untill they should enter bond for their good behaviour ; which some of them would never yield to, and ended their days in Prison.

April the 10. dyed *William Earl of Pembroke*, and Lord High Steward of *England*, of an Apoplexy ; the night before he supped with the Countess of *Bedford* at *Devonshire house*, without *Bishops-gate*, very jocund he was at Supper, especially rejoycing that the day before, being his Birth-day, he had attained the age of 50. years, hoping now he should reach his Fathers account, who lived till 64, and to see many happy days. After Supper, he retired to *Baynards Castle* his house, where he sat up till midnight, and was very well; but after he had been a while in bed (his Lady by him) he fetcht a most profound groan, whereat she not being able to wake him, shrieked out for company, who coming in, found him speechlesse, in which condition, he remained till 8. next morning, and then dyed. It was said,

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*William Earl
of Pembroke
died.*

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that Mr. *Allen*, a Mathematician at *Oxford*, had calculated his Nativity many years before, and could not give any hopes of his life beyond his 50. year. He dyed intestate, and left of debts to pay eighty thousand pounds. He was scarce cold before the Earl of *Arundel* begg'd the custody of his Countess, upon pretence that she was not *mentis compos*, and crackt in her brain; and because his Son the Lord *Maltravers* was her next Heir in right of his Mother, Sister and Coheir with her and the Countesse of *Kent*; all three being the Inheretresses of the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* Estate. But her affection stood more inclined to her Brother the Earl of *Montgomery*, and therefore the King granted him the disposition of her.

His Character

He was the very Picture and vive Effigies of Nobility; His Person rather Majestique, then elegant; his presence, whether quiet, or in motion, full of stately gravity; his mind generous and purely heroique, often stout, but never disloyal; so vehement an opponent of the *Spaniard*, as when that *Match* fell under consideration, he would sometimes rouse to the trepidation of King *James*, yet kept in favour still; for that King knew plain dealing (as a jewel in all men, so) was in a Privy Counsellor an Ornamental duty; and the same true-heartedness commended him to King *Charles*, with whom he kept a most admirable correspondence, and yet stood the firm Confident of the Commonalty; and not by a sneaking cunning, but by an erect and generous prudence, such as rendered him unsuspected of ambition on the one side, as of Faction on the other. This universality of affection, made his loss most deplorable. But men are lost, when all turns to forgotten dust: That affection would not that he should be non-plust so, but kept his Noble fame emergent and aloft; and if this History shall bear it up, I shall think it not more his felicity, then mine own.

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This Spring the Royal Stemme germinated, and put forth another gemme, the Queen being delivered May the 29. of her second Son, not living onely, but lively; Surpassing exultation there was thereat, and all the Court kept Jubile; all the great ones, both *Lords* and *Ladies*, went now on Maying to *St. Jameses*, to see the Royal Blessing, and Hope of *England*; yea, to see that Babe, to behold whom Heaven it self seemed to open one Eye more then ordinary: There being at his Nativity, very visible at *London*, a Star, though neer high noon day. Such *Asterisks* and *Celestial Signatures* affixt to times so remarkable as this, usually are ominous, prophetically hinting and pointing out somewhat future of eminent contingency. But what the *English* of this *Apparition* is, and what it mentally portends to us, I am not *Fortune-teller* enough to say: in truth, such things are best, that is, safest interpreted, when accomplished. June the 27. he was in

most

most refulgent pomp carryed to the sacred Font, and named *Charles*. God-fathers and Witnesſes were the King of *France*, and the *Prince Elector*, represented by the *Duke of Lennox*, and *Marqueſſe Hamilton*: of the other ſex the *Queen Mother of France*, whoſe ſubſtitute was the *Dutcheſſe of Richmond*.

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In the mean time the *King* was in contemplation with his brother the *Palizgrave's* preſſures and how to relieve him; and becauſe he gave but ſlender credit to the *Spaniſh* promiſes, and had intelligence of a *Diet* and generall Aſſembly to be kept at *Ratiſbone* this Summer, he ſent over Sir *Robert Anſturther* in the quality of an Ambaſſadour, who arriving there, and being admitted to audience before the Emperour and Eſtates of *Germany*, he delivered his meſſage to this effect.

An Embaſſa-
dor ſent into
Germany.

That nothing did affect his Maſter the King of Great Brittain more, then the conſideration of the daily calamities undergone by his Brother the *Prince Elector*, his Wife and Children; that he deemed no place more expedient where to treat of their reconciliation, and re-eſtabliſhment then in this *Diet*; therefore he made it his moſt ardent request to his Imperiall Maſteſty, that having regard to the many interceſſions of his late Faſter, and other Kings and Princes, he would remit the diſpleaſure conceived againſt his Brother, and recall the proſcription iſſued out againſt him. True it is, his Brother had offended, and was inexcuſably guilty, (unleſſe the raſhneſſe and precipitation of youth may ſomewhat plead for him:) but others had been as culpable as he, whom yet his Imperiall Maſteſty received into grace and favour, and would be pleaſed to extend to him the ſame clemency, it would oblige his Maſter to demonſtrations of deepeſt gratitude, and raiſe a glorious emulation in others to imitate ſo Majestique a pattern. That the *Palizgrave* would entertain this favour with an heart ſo firmly devoted to his ſervice, as all the intention of his ſpirit ſhould be diſpoſed to compensation and reparation of his by-paſt miſcarriages: That his Maſter held nothing ſo dear, as the affection of his Imperiall Maſteſty, and eſtabliſhment of a durable peace between them. And as upon all occaſions he hath been forward to repreſent himſelfe ſolicitous of it, ſo at this time he is ready to give more ample Teſtimony, if his Imperiall Maſteſty be pleaſed to incline to a Treaty.

The Emperour and Eſtates gave Sir *Robert* fair reſpect, but as to his meſſage returned answer, that the preſent affairs of *Germany*, which called them thither, were of that important concernment, as they would not admit of any forain debate; but when leiſure ſerved, the King his Maſter ſhould have ſuch ſatisfaction as would be agreeable to their honor, and they hoped to his content. Thus the Ambaſſador returned re infecta.

Leighton a fiery Scot this year was met with, his *Sions Plea*

R

brought

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Leighton a Scot
centured.Peace between
England and
Spain.

brought him to stand in need of the *Balme of Gilead*, That wilde *Pamphlet* was wrote during the late Parliament, and to them dedicated; in that he excited the Parliament and people to kill all the Bishops, and to smite them under the fifth rib; he inveighed against the *Queen*, calling her the Daughter of *Heth*, a *Canaanite*, and Idolatresse. For these and other seditious passages, he was sentenced in the *Star-Chamber* to have his ears cropt, his nose slit, his forehead stigmatized, and to be whipped. But between sentence and execution, he made an escape out of the Fleet, but by better hap to the *Warden*, then to himselfe, was re-taken in *Bedfordshire*, & underwent the punishment.

Now began we & *Spain* to cement again, the peace being driven to the head, and fully compleated, the Articles were precisely the same with those concluded formerly betweene King *James* and *Philip* the third, and for the *Palatinate*, no further engagement, but only, that the *King of Spain* should dispose of all his interest in the *Emperour* towards the restitution of his Brother the Prince *Elektor*. But it was a Peace, and though not in all points fully adequate to the Kings content, yet readily embraced because he was not then in state to better it. But though the Peace was none of the best, yet was the solemnity in publication thereof none of the least, yea not inferior to others of much higher avails.

On *Sunday, Novemb: the 27.* it was by the whole College of *Heralds* mounted on horseback, in their rich Surcoats, proclaimed both at *White-hall Gate*, and in *Pauls Churchyard*, and at *Cheapside Crosse*; the Lord *Mayor* with his confraternity of *Aldermen* also mounted, and in their Scarlets. On *Tuesday* the *King* and the *Spanish Ambassador* descended into the chappell, continuing in their traverses untill an *Anthymne* was sung. Then the *Bishop of London (Land)* as Dean of the Chappell, attended by three other Bishops, all in their Copes, ascended up to the *Altar* with a Latine Bible in his hand. Then the *King* and *Ambassador* issuing out of the Traverses, the *King* laid his hand on the Book, whilst Secretary *Cooke* read the *Oath*; and that done, he kist it, signing withall the Articles of the Peace, which he delivered up to the *Spanish Ambassador*. After this they all went up to the Banqueting house, where a most princely and sumptuous dinner was provided for them.

But the Subject paid the reckoning. For his Majesty being stimulated with want and disgusting Parliaments was enforced to call in the aid of his Prerogative. By a Tax which long disuse had made a Novelty; one would thinke for that very cause, the more taking, but it prov'd not so; and though Men, English especially, are naturally new-fangled, and enamoured with Novelties, yet in the point of Tributes and Payments it is otherwise. The Taxe, with the Originalls of its Imposition, a thing known to very few, I shall set downe, for as well their Extraction, as the

Per-

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The Taxe of
Knighthood.

Persons and Things themselves, are the design of History.

By the Common Law there was vested in the Kings of this Realm, a power to summon (by their Writs out of the *Chancery*) all persons possessing a *Knights-fee*, and who had no speciall Priviledge to the contrary, to appear at their *Coronations*, *ad arma militie gerenda*; that is, to present themselves before the *Lord High Chamberlain*, who (if the Kings service so required) was to deliver out of the Kings Wardrobe to every man (as the Ensignes of Knighthood) a belt and surcoat; and if upon four dayes attendance they were not employed, they might depart every man to his severall home. But they who made default of appearance, were to submit to fine; and this was now the case of almost all the Kingdome: for his Majesty having issued out his Writs of summons to the Sheriffs of all the Counties and Cities in *England*, very few appeared; whereupon in *August* last, his Majesty sent forth Commissions to severall Knights and others, persons of quality in all Counties, to inquire into, and compound with all defaulters, who had Estates of 40. l. *per an.* and were obnoxious to the mulct; upon which account there was this Term, brought into the *Exchequer*, at least One hundred thousand pounds.

This peace between *England* and *Spain* begata warre in *England* and *Ireland* between *Spain* and *France*, I meane between the *Jesuites*, who are the profest clientelaries and vassalls of the *Catholique King*, and the *secular Priests*, men more addicted to the King of *France*: the radix and ground of this contest was this.

The Papacy having in *England* and *Ireland* her emissaries for the planting of a Gospell which *Christ* nor his *Apostles* never dreamt of, expedient it was thought both for the ordaining of Priests, and confirmation of persons baptized, that a *Bishop* should be sent amongst them; to which purpose Pope *Gregory* the 15 delegated one *William Bishop*, entituled the Bishop of *Chalcedon*, who came over in *Aug.* 1623. when the Spanish Match was thought compleated. Anno 1624 *Bishop* died, after him succeeded by mission from *Urban* the 8, anno 1625, *Richard Smith* with the same title; *Smith* was a busie fellow, and tooke upon him more then *Bishop*, for he arrogated to himselfe the approbation of such regular Priests as were to be standing Confessors; which the *Jesuites* thought an usurpation upon their Jurisdiction, whereupon a conspiracy is entred to dispatch him hence, a Declaration is contrived under the name of the most Noble and eminent *Catholiques* against his pretended authority, withall asserting all sufficient power in the *Regulars* to all those intents, and the no-necessity of having any Bishop at all. This Declaration in the nick of his departure hence, for *Spain*, to prevent more satisfactory informations, was offered to the Spanish Ambassador *Don Carlos de Coloma*. And the Bishop so persecuted by the *Jesuites*, as finding himselfe in no capacity

The Jesuits
and secular
Priests at odds.

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of standing an open contest by reason of his skulking condition, caused through the *Kings*, Proclamation against him, he was enforced to seeke his safety abroad, and escaped into *France*. *Smith* thus frighted away from his charge, one *Kellison* Rector of the Colledge of *Doway*, in a Tract vindicates the authority and divine right of Episcopacy; but *Knott*, Vice-provinciall of the *English Jesuites*, and *Flood*, another *Jesuite* of *Saint Omers*, undertooke *Kellisons* confutation, and their Bookes were no sooner extant, but being discusst by the Colledge of *Sorbon*, were by the Faculty of *Paris* censured and condemned. But the Controversie slept not so, but was reciprocated and bandied from one side to another *in infinitum*, as you may reade at large in *Aurelius*.

Nor was this bickering the only product of our peace, but the Romish Catholiques began to rant it in *Ireland*, and to exercise their fancies called Religion so publicely, as if they had gained a Toleration. For whilest the *Lords Justices* were at Church in *Dublin*, on *Saint Stephens* day they were celebrating Masse, which the *Lords Justices* taking notice of, they sent the *Arch-bishop* of *Dublin*, the *Mayor*, *Sheriffs*, and *Recorder* of the town to apprehend them; which they did, taking away the Crucifixes, Chalice, and Paraments of the *Altar*, the Souldiers hewing down the Image of *S. Francis*. The *Priests* and *Friers* were delivered into the hands of the Purservants, at whom the people threw stones and rescued them. The *Lords Justices* informed of this, sent a guard and delivered them, and clapt eight Popish Aldermen by the heeles for not attending their *Mayor*. Upon the account of this presumption, fifteen houses by direction from the Lords of the Councell here were seised to the *Kings* use, and the *Friers* and *Priests* so persecuted, as two hanged themselves in their own defence.

This winter the *Marquesse Hamilton* was very active in mustering up his Forces for the *King* of *Swedens* assistance against the next Spring, and the *King* hastened him to dispatch his levy with all the speed he could, in regard he had fresh and certaine intelligence of a very great victory that the *King* had lately obtained against the Imperialists; *Tilly*, it seemes, conducted a numerous Army of Thirty three thousand Foot, and seven hundred Horse for the reliefe of *Rosstock*, then besieged by the *King* of *Sweden*: the *King* alarum'd at his comming, drew out of his trenches Seventene thousand Foot, and Six hundred Horse to entertaine him. The first encounter was sharp, and cost the *King* above a thousand men; whereat the *King* fired with gallant courage, came undauntedly up to the Count, and gave him so terrible a shock, as made his Vantguard to brandle, disordered both Battail and Reere, routed all the *Imperiall* Army, flew Three thousand on the place, took Sixteene Pieces of Ordinance, Thirty Ensignes, Thirty two Cornets of Horse; and immediately stormed the Town and carried it.

For

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For the encouragement of the Marquesse in this expedition, the King gave him the impost upon the Wines in Scotland, which would amount to Twenty thousand pounds *per annum*; and as a great part of their maintenance was to be derived from Scotland, so were the Auxiliaries themselves to consist for the most part of that Nation. For the King of Sweden had by experience found them not unlike his Finlanders, both stout and hardy: while these forces were raising, a Scot, then in the Swedish service asked the King how his Countrey-men should be maintained? *How are the Emperours Souldiers*, said he, *maintained*? With money, answered the Scot. *If then* quoth the King, *your Steel be better then theirs, their money will be yours, if it be not better, why will your Countrey-men crosse the Seas to be beaten in Germany?*

Now I am abroad, before I recall my discourse home, permit a short transition to the enemies quarters, and there to take in an odde accident which soon after befell, and is relative to the affairs of England. Eighteen *Hollanders* (whereof three had been actors in the English Tragedy at *Amboyna*) supping at *Frankfort*, as they were passing to *Strasburgh*, boasted in their cups, what they had done to our nation in that *Iland*, which one in their company observing, related it to two English Captains of horse then in service of the Emperour, and two of whose kindred suffered there. These two Captains having notice which way the *Hollanders* were to passe, way-laid them in a wood with a Troop of Horse, and having met them, bad them *stand*; that done, willed them to prepare for death, for dye they must: the *Hollanders* replied, *they hoped not so, for all their money was at their dispose*. We seek not your money, said the two Captains, but your lives, and will now be revenged, for those barbarous torments three of this your company put our Countrey-men and allies to at *Amboyna*; and had we leisure, we would serve you so too. First, they hung up *Johnson* the chief of the *Amboinists*, and made the other seventeen cast the dice which of them should escape to carry intelligence into *Holland*. The fifteen guiltlesse persons thought this hard measure, and hoped they would not punish them for others faults: but the Gentlemen pleaded, *legem talionis*, and that they might as well hang them, as their Countrey-men were butchered at *Amboyna* without cause. So without further endiament they hang'd up sixteen, and sent the odde man home. Some satisfaction, but, though almost two for one, not equiparate to the merit of that nations cruelty: these seventeen had a mercifull and quick dispatch; our ten at *Amboyna*, the ingenious Devils did so exquisitely torture, as the poor Patients had nothing but clear consciences, to make them believe they felt not hell above ground.

Amboyna massacre in part revenged.

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In March Mr. *Mountagne* was sent over to negotiate the payment of the moiety of the Queens *Portion* (being Four hundred thousand Crowns) behinde, and to require satisfaction for two rich Ships taken from us by the *French*, since the last peace concluded; and with him, as the better Accountant, was sent the great Merchant *Philip Burlamachi*. The King of *France* returned this answer, *Let my Brother of England render up the Fort of Kebeck, and then he shall have satisfaction to his content.* Kebeck is a Fort upon the river of *Canada* in the North part of *America*, and was taken by Captain *Kirk* two yeares before, and garrisoned with *English* under the Command of his Brother; it is the prime staple for *Beavers* and *Oysters* in the whole world, & worth usually at least thirty thousand pound a year. But our King preferr'd fair amity, before litigious emolument, and yeelding up the Fort, had his full and just demands.

About 18. years since the *Earl of Essex* was seperated (by a most just sentence of *Nullity* executed by Commission under the great Seal of *England*) from the Lady *Frances Howard*. True it is, that *Countesse* was of a very lewd report, and full of fire, as the Earl of ice, nor will I undertake to vindicate from indirect and unjustifiable practises, the scrutiny of her Virginitie. But judgement must proceed according to the tenor of allegations, and proofs, and as the Jury of Midwives declared her to be an untouched Virgin, so did the *Earl* himselfe confesse that (though he had often attempted it) *he never could, and believed never should carnally know her.* Whereupon the Commissioners pronounced a Divorce between them. Upon this definitive sentence of the Bishops, a late compiler of *Great Britains History*, abetting popular error, hath cast some odious glances, not knowing that *Geneva* her selfe had done the like before in the case of the *Marquesse of Vico* and others. But that Author was this Earls creature, and pleading his Masters cause, assumed the greater liberty. The *Earl* and his *Countesse* thus parted, to shun the shame of impotency at home, over he goes to the Low Countries, disciplines himselfe there in Martial exercises, behaves himselfe both there, and in the *Palatinate* with gallant resolution, and became of high renown for feats of Arms. Having given these undeniable proofs of his manhood, he was ambitious to give some of his virility, and having been a while in *England*, solicited the affection of *Mrs. Elizabeth Paulet*, (daughter of *Sir William Paulet* of *Wiltshire*, and extracted from the Noble line of the *Marquesse of Winchester*) obtained it, and on March the 11. of this present year, consummated Nuptials with her at *Nesly*, the *Earl of Hartfords* house. With this Lady he did a while cohabit, and it was but a while, becoming soon unhappy in his second, as in his first choice; for he could as little digest her over-much familiarity with *Mr. Udal*, as his former Ladies with the *Earl of Somerset*. But happy it had been

The Earl of
Essex his second Marriage.

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been (in all probability) not lesse for King *Charles* then this *Earl*, had either his Ladies found fewer, or he more friends at Court, and that his dishonour had been there repented agreeable to his extraction: for though (as some suppose) he laboured of an immedicable and invincible impotency as to conjugal concerns, yet to others he had animosity enough, and when we shall afterward behold him in the head of a numerous Army, giving this *King* battail in a pitch field, it may well be conjectured, that this then engagement was in part upon the score of these indignities, which he charg'd upon former account, so moving is the shew of *injur'd honor*.

I am now entred upon the year 1631. remarkable for the triall of *Mervin Lord Audley, Earle of Castle-haven*, with I could for the honour of Christianity, for the honour of Nobility, for the honor of our Nation, yea for the honor of our Nature, even manhood it selfe, that the story of so much filth might be swept into the channel of Oblivion. But offences so prodigiously high, as his, we may not stride over; contract they doe a penalty too vital for one *Scaffold* to determine; *History* must erect another for him, wherein he may ever suffer in what is extant of him, his posthume Fame, the souls most considerable reliet on earth, in whose Proxy she is happy or miserable to all posterity.

This *Earl* marryed to his second wife, the daughter of the old Countesse of *Derby*, and widow of the Lord *Shandos*, by whom she had a daughter marryed to the Lord *Audley* the *Earls* sonne: he was committed in *December* last, upon an accusation of such a cluster of abominations, as were never heard of before. First, for causing one *Skipwith* his *Ganymede*, (son to a maker of *Uisque-bath* in *Ireland*) and advanced by the *Earls* villany, (for it were a shame to call it bounty) to an estate of near a thousand pound *per annum*, to ravish the Countesse, himselfe assisting: next, for procuring the same *Skipwith* and others to cuckold his son, by lying with his Lady in the presence of the *Earl*. Lastly, for acting *Sodomy* both upon *Skipwith* and others. After all these hellish deeds, some Lords expostulating with him in prison his motives to them, with an impudence surable to his lewdnesse, he told them: *As others had their severall delights, some in one thing, some in another, so his whole delight was in damning souls, by enticing men to such acts as might surely effect it*: For these offences he was endicted at *Salisbury*, and there found guilty by the Grand Enquest, whereupon he was transmitted to the *Kings bench Bar*.

His Arraignment there was *April* the 25. of this present year. *Thomas* Lord *Coventry* (being for that day constituted Lord High Steward of *England*) brought the Commission into the Court, where after an Oyes made by the Serjant at Arms, he gave it to Sir *Thomas Fanshaw* Clerk of the *Crown* to read, who read it, and then

The Lord
Audley arraigned.

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then the huiſher of the *Black rod* kneeling down to the Lord *High Steward*, preſented him with a white rod, the ſtaffe of his Office. His ſeat was a chair of State, and underneath him ſate the Peers, in number twenty fix, viz. the Lord *Treſurer*, the Lord *Privy Seal*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Pembroke*, *Kent*, *Worceſter*, *Bedford*, *Eſſex*, *Dorſet*, *Salisbury*, *Leiceſter*, *Warwick*, *Carlile*, *Holland*, *Barkſhire*, *Denbigh*; the *Vicounts*, *Wimbleton*, *Conway*, *Dorcheſter*, *Wentworth*; the *Barons*, *Percy*, *Strange*, *Clifford*, *Peters*, *North*, *Goring*. And beneath the Nobility ſate the *Judges* aſſiſtants. The Commiſſion read, and Oyes made, the Lord *High Steward* gave leave to the Peers to be covered, and then they were called over by their names, to which every one gave a particular answer. Then the *Lieutenant* of the Tower brought the Priſoner forth to the Bar, to whom the Lord *High Steward* declared the cauſe of his being brought thither. His endiſtment was read by Sir *Thomas Fanſhaw*, who asked him whether he were guilty, or not guilty. The Lord *Audley* replied, *Not guilty*. Sir *Thomas* then demanded, *How wilt thou be try'd?* the Lord *Audley* reply'd, *By God and my Peers*. Then the Lord *High Steward*, addreſſing himſelf to the Peers, ſaid;

The Priſoner is endiſtmed of Rape and Sodomy, to which he hath pleaded not guilty; My duty it is to charge you with the Triall of him, yours to judge. The cauſe may move in ſome pity, in others deteſtation, neither of which ought to be put in the ſcale, for a grain on either ſide may ſway the Ballance. But Reaſon muſt rule your affecti- ons, and your heads, your hearts. You are to give at- tentive heed, and weigh equally, that the ſcale may incline the right way. The Judges will aſſiſt you in points of Law, whereof if doubts ariſe, you are to propound them to me, and I to them: Thus your Lordſhips are to pro- ceed without Corporall Oath, for the Law ſuppoſeth you of ſuch integrity, as you will doe that for Juſtice, that others are compelled to by their Oaths. And ſo God di- rect you in it.

After the Lord *High Steward* had ended, the Attorney General ſpake vehemently in aggravation of the crimes whereof the Priſoner was impeacht; then the witneſſes were produced, and the Evidence upon Examination was found ſummarily this;

That the firſt or ſecond night after marriage, the Lord and Lady being in bed together, he told her, *That her body now was his, and that if ſhe lay with any by his conſent, the fault would be his,*

his, not hers. That *Broadway* by his command forcibly lay with her, whilst the *Lord* assisteth him in holding her. This was proved by the testimony of the *Lady* her selfe the Defendant, and *Broadway* the assailant. The *Sodomy* was proved by *Broadway* and *Fitts Patrick* on whom it was acted. These were the main and capital offences; of lesse hainous nature in the eye of the Law, was his oft perswading *Skipwith* to act villany with the young *Lady*, whom he kept so short of maintenance, as she had no means but what *Skipwith* gave her, and that during *Skipwiths* lewdnesse with her, he called up divers servants to behold them, he himselfe much delighting therein. This was proved by the testimony of the young *Lady* herselfe, *Skipwith*, and four or five more.

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To these the *Earl* pleaded, that his wife had been bad before, and so no competent witnesse against him. Then the *Lord High Steward* asked the Judges whether one may ravish a woman of ill fame? Who reply'd, An Whore may be ravishd, and it is felony to doe it.

Then the Lords withdrew to consider of the evidence, and being returned, the *Lord High Steward* demanded their severall suffrages, who all, one by one pronounced him guilty of the *Rape*, and fifteen of *Sodomy*: which verdict being brought in, the *Lord High Steward* delivered sentence of death against him in these words;

Found guilty,

For as much as thou *Mervin Lord Audley*, hast been endicted of divers felonious crimes, for which thou didst desire to be try'd by God and thy Peers, which Tryall thou hast had, and they have found thee guilty of them: Thy Sentence is therefore, that thou returne from hence to the place from whence thou camest, and from thence to the place of Execution, and there to hang by the neck till thou be dead. And the Lord have mercy on thy soul.

And condemn-
ed.

This doom being past upon him, the Court arose, and the *Lord* was remanded to the Tower, where he continued close prisoner till May 14. being the day of his Execution, when being brought to *Tower-hill*, he ascended the *Scaffold*, (waited on by his two Chaplains, Dr. *Winiff* Dean of *Pauls*, and Dr. *Wickham*, and made a short Confession, declaring himselfe many ways worthy of death, but solemnly protesting his innocency in those two faults whereof he stood condemned. His confession ended, he resorted to his prayers, after which bidding farewell to all the Spectators, and forgiving the Executioner, he yeilded his head to de-cussation, to the striking off, which was performed dextrously, and at one blow.

His execution.

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A remarque
upon his of-
fence.

One thing I offer as observable, and from my selfe-beholding, that having preserved his countenance all the while before, in one constant tenor, he no sooner did addresse himselfe for the stroke of death, but his hands and face were in a moment over-shadowed with such a swarthy metamorphosis, as neer resembled smoak-dryed Bacon. The like befell (as I was credibly informed) to one of noble eminency, whom Justice pursued to the like end, for a different offence, during these Civill Warres, as shall (God willing) take place in the sequel of this Narration.

Thus dyed this titular piece of Nobility, like a bad Actor hift off the stage, of few lamented, for of few beloved.

Now we have done with the Malefactor, we will next arraign the Fact it selfe, I mean that transcendent one the *Rape*; it being of so horrid and hideous a quality. For whereas all other sins are the dictates of sensual pleasure or profit, and have their feminalities within the bed of natural corruption, this was a sin which even depraved nature would not own, as having no incentives to it, a sin whereunto the Devill himself seemed not accessary, a sin without temptation, a *Rape* without concupiscence, an abomination whose every grison and step should we climbe, we shall not be able in the whole Repertory of Fame to finde its parallel. Some have made rude sallies upon female chastity, but it hath been to fate and allay the boiling extimulations of their own, rarely of others lusts. Possibly some, with whom to serve hath been to subsist, have been adjutants to their Masters in actions of like detestation, but who ever heard the practise counterchanged, or a Master voluntarily to officiate to his servant in a deed so execrable? Had it been acted upon a stranger it had been bad sufficiently, upon an acquaintance much worse, upon an ally storse will, (as supper-inducting *Incest* with *Rape*) but to perpetrate it upon her, whom the sacred ties of Wedlock had consigned up to him in the highest notion of dearness, for a man to commit a *Rape* upon himselfe, (for so she was in truth) certainly there never was a sin of so odde and impartial a genius. Nor did the person on whom it was acted render the impiety more odious, then the mode and way of doing it: for whereas nature it selfe, in acts of such uncleanness, (even between married couples who have the highest dispensation) declineth insolation and open view, this Bestiality was acted as upon a common Theater, as if all the delight had been in the Spectacle, and all the pleasure in the Ostentation. So that in short (all circumstances spell'd together) I may safely say it is a sin without Precedent of former ages, and which I hope posterity will never copy out.

Broadway and
Fitz Patrick
arraigned.

June the 27 following, Mr. *Broadway* and *Fitz Patrick*, servants to, and concriminaries with the Lord *Audley*, were produced to trial at the *Kings-bench Barre*, and partly upon the evidence for-

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formerly given in by the *Countesse*, and re-avowed then by her, and partly upon their own confessions, were found guilty, the one of *Rape*, the other of *Sodomy*, and had sentence of death pronounced against them, and were executed at *Tiburn* July 6.

Fitz Patrick in his last speech at the Gallows, reflected invectively upon the Earl of *Dorset* as the beguiler of him into his destruction; because, upon his examination before the Lords, the Earle promised in the name of the whole board, that whatsoever he gave in evidence against his *Lord*, should no waies prejudice himself, which moved him to declare his *Lord* guilty of *Sodomy*, and that the testimony he then gave against his *Lord*, was now the maine cause of his own condemnation. As to the matter of fact for which the Lord suffered, he much lamented his *Lord* should dye in protestation of his innocence, for he professed the *Lord* was guilty of both those crimes for which he dyed. Much time he spent in addressees to the Virgin *Mary* and the Saints, and ended his life in the *Romish* perswasion.

Mr. *Broadwaies* confession was very ingenuous, Christian, and sincere; much blame he laid upon the *Countesse* as a woman of infamous conversation, and much upon himself for his dissolute-nesse, for which in the most significant gestures of contrition he craved pardon from God, and dyed in much assurance of it.

In the same moneth of *May* wherein this Monster-Lord was sentenced, Sir *Giles Allington* fell also under censure for a sin of grand, though under graduate abomination. This Knight (in other things a Gentleman of much honour) had against the advice of the *Arch-bishop* and other venerable Divines, marryed his half Neece, the daughter of Mr. *Dalton*, for which incestuous match he was questioned in the *High Commission*, with whom he tugg'd hard, and being a man of great estate, resolved he was to spare no cost which might be serviceable to quit him. First, his Advocates pleaded it was not within the Levitical interdict, where the marriage of the Nephew with the Aunt is forbidden, but not of the Unkle with the Neece; and when the same parity of reason was urged, *Bellarmines No* was produced, because, saith he, *The first everteth the natural subjection due from a Nephew to his Aunt, whomust be his underling by the duty of a wife; whereas if a Neece doth marry her Uncle, the natural subjection is rather doubled, then destroyed.* But these arguments were rather delatory pastimes, then just evasions. Sir *Giles* his best refuge was to the Common Pleas, from whence he obtained two Rules; one, requiring the *High Commissioners* to shew cause why a Prohibition should not be granted. The other intimating, that if in the interim they proceed further, a Prohibition should be granted: which so incensed the *High Commissioners*, as they sent instantly to acquaint the *King* therewith, who gave present order to

Sir Giles Allington censured in the High Commission.

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the Lord Keeper to let the Judges know he did much distaste such proceedings, whereupon the *Common Pleas* desisted from further interruption; and it was well they did, for the *Bishop of London* grew so high in passion, as he said he would move the Lord of *Canterbury* to excommunicate all the Judges within his Province who should dare to act in such a Prohibition, and in case the Archbishop would not, he was resolved to doe it in his Diocese, and denounce it himself in *St. Pauls* and other Churches.

Sir *Giles* thus stript of all Common Law protection, became the full But to receive the keen arrowes of a provoked Court, eight Bishops, and four other Commissioners were his Judges; and his sentence, *Fine to the King Twelve thousand pounds, to stand obliged in the penalty of Twenty thousand pounds never to co-habit or to come into private company with his Neece any more: to be committed to prison, or put in sufficient bail till both he and his Neece or Lady shall have done penance at Pauls Crosse, and at Great Saint Maries in Cambridge at a day enjoyned by the Court.* Never was Delinquent censured there by a more solemne and venerable Consistory. Many spake excellent well; but Sir *Henry Martin*, whose custome it was before to out goe others, did then surpass himself.

The Court afforded little remarkable this year, save only that the *Queen Nov.* the 4. was delivered of her eldest Daughter, the Lady *Mary*.

The Kings thoughts were most abroad; and imployment those thoughts could not want, whilst his brother the *Palatgrave* wanted his patrimony; and though he was almost at the point of desperation, as to prevailing with the *Emperour* by precarious applications, yet did he resolve once more to re-inforce his former instances: to which effect he dispatcht Sir *Robert Anstruther* again as Ambassadour to him. But the *Emperour* being not high enough to deny, nor low enough to grant, kept his old posture of procrastination: whereof our King having advice from his Ambassadour, intending patiently to wait untill new emergences should occasion new counsels, gave him order will to attend and pursue his former instructions, untill he should receive others.

In the mean time *Gustavus King of Sweden*, in the way of whose conquest nothing could stand, with a victorious sword made a furious inrode into *Germany*; the restauration of whose liberties he made the design of that hostile incursion. And as the Prince *Electtor* bare the greatest share in the oppression, so had he the fairest hopes of tasting the fruit of those conquests, especially considering both that now that King began to be master of the field even in the *Palatinat*, the late and ancient patrimony of that Prince; and also how solicitous a zealot his Brother our King was in his concernment; for as in promotion of that great enter-

enterprise he had this summer sent over an aid of Six thousand Foot with Three hundred thousand Dollars to the King of Sweden under the conduct of the Marquess Hamilton, so did he also in the spring of the next year dispatch an Ambassador to him, praying the Restauration of the *Paltz-grave*. But the King of Sweden, (whether because he had prospered to a self-subsistence, and so needed no participants either in the hazard, or glory of the achievement; or upon what other account, uncertain) neither entertained, nor employed the Scots with that respect as was expected, most of them never encountering any enemy but those two fierce ones, *Plague* and *Famine*. Again, he set at first so high a rate upon what was sued for, as rendred it not worth acceptance upon such harsh tearms: For he demanded from the Prince,

First, *That he should enter Recognizance, of holding his Countrey as a Donative of that King, and consequently should repute himself as his Beneficiary and Vassall.*

Secondly, *That he should make no Martial Levies without his liking.*

Thirdly, *That he should, during those Wars, furnish him with so many thousands upon his own pay; more indeed then his desolate countrey could maintain.*

Fourthly, *That two of his Head Towns should be left to the King as Cautionaries for performing of Covenants, which should be made presidiary and Garisons to be maintained by the contribution of the Countrey.*

Fifthly, *That he should make no League nor Article with any other Prince, his consent not first had.*

These proposalls were lookt upon by the Prince, rather as conditions tendred by a Conqueror to a vanquisht Foe, then acts of Grace to a distressed friend; nor did they answer that ambitious title of the *LIBERATOR* and *DELIVERER* of *GERMANY*, to which that King pretended, with so intense a passion.

The *Paltz-grave* therefore loth to change his Lord only, and retain his old servitude, rejected these tearms as dishonorable, which being also resented as such by the Agents of *France*, and the *united Provinces*, and so represented to the King, he condescended to others of a more lenitive temper. But Heaven was no party to those transactions, for when all things were even upon the point of signing, the supreme Disposer of all things signed a fatal countermand, giving a sudden stop to that brave *Heroe* in the full career of all his triumphs, by a death naturall to him as a Souldier, though violent as a Man: This disaster happened at that memorable batel, at *Lutzen*, *Novemb. 6.* where the King being too adventurously engaged in the thickest of his Troops, was slain by an hand, yea by a party, (whether his own or the enemies) un-

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1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

The King of
Sweden slain at
Lutzen.

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Eo clarior quod
adolescens in in-
cremento rerum
mundum asseram
fortunam exper-
tus decessit. Liv.
8.c.77.

The Prince
Electo dyeth

The Earl of
Leicester Amb-
bassador into
Denmark.

certain. But that blow was not more fatal to himselfe, then to his adversaries; for no sooner did the noyse of the fall overspread his Army, but they redoubled their Martial fury, and consequently their blows, hewing down their stiffe opponents with so gallant courage, as they went off Victors leaving dead on the place six thousand men.

This was the end of that renowned King, for sprightly metal the *Cesar*, for successe the *Alexander* of this Age, to whom we may apply what the Historian said of that *Macedonian* Prince. *He was the more famous, because he was cut off in his youth, and in the growth of his prosperity, before fortune had ever forsaken him, or shewed him her averse.*

Gustavus being thus taken away, the Prince *Electo* his Participant in his best Fortune would needs also be concomitant in his worst, and was at the same time I may say (not improperly) slain, he receiving his deaths wound thence, though not there. He had some few days before taken the infection at *Mentz*, being newly returned from visiting his Ally the Duke of *Deux-Ponts*; and was in an hopefull way of recovery, when news was brought him of the King of *Swedens* death, which he re-sented with so intense a passion, as he dyed the 29. of the same moneth. Nor could the restitution of *Franckendal* (the fairest flower of his Garland) bear up his Spirit from desponding and overwhelming with grief. For that Town having been so long, and so close begirt by the *Swedes*, as it was reduced to a necessity of yeelding. And the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain* (aiming to convert that necessity into a favour, and to pick a thank from *England*, whose Ambassadors still ply'd his instances at the *Imperiall* Court) rendered it up into the hands of the *English* Officers, the 21. of that instant, being eight dayes before the Prince expired, so that he lived to know himselfe in part restored, though sorrow had so imbittered all relish of earthly joy, as his spirit was not susceptible of any other then dolefull impressions.

The same year our King also dispatcht the Earl of *Leicester* to the King of *Denmark* his *Uncle*; the most considerable design of his Embassie was to condole the late decease of his Grandmother the Lady *Sophia* Queen Dowager of *Denmark*, and to demand the dividend of a sixth part of what she left as due to him; and the Lady *Elizabeth* in right of Queen *Anne* their Mother; for by the Fundamental Law of that Kingdome, all children, of whatsoever sex, inherit equal shares, allotting only to the eldest a double portion. The part due to our King and his Sister amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which that King promised to satisfie as soon as moneyes came in, but withall intimated that he desired to reminde his Nephew of *England*, of what he was in arrear of the thirty thousand pounds *per mensem*, which was due to

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to him from the *Crown of England*, upon the contract made 1625. towards the support of his Army, so that the *Earl* finding the intrado of his Negotiation like to come to nothing, having condoled, that is, after the *Vandish* mode, made merry with that King, returned home.

This year the Protestants and *Danish* Plantators in *Ireland*, began to grow into some discontent: The *Papists*, especially the *Romish Clergie*, encreased excessively, to neer double the number of Reformed Beleevers, and because so insolent as openly to erect an University in *Dublin*, in emulation, or rather in defiance of the Kings *Colledge* there: so that they had reason to fear sad effects of their potency. Again, the *King* finding the *Romish* Catholics in that Kingdome so numerous, so ignorant, and with all so poor, he thought fit for a while to dispense with the penalty of the statute of twelve pence per Sunday for absence from the Church, especially being somewhat irritated by what was suggested to him (though untruly) that writs were issued out for levying those fines, before the quarterly contribution of five thousand pounds granted by the Countrey for maintenance of the Army was expired, which (had it been so) might have proved of dangerous consequence. This act of Grace as it elevated the pride of the Recusants, so it found amongst the Protestants a most displeasing resentment: which was not a little amplified by their great oppression, by an odious *Papist* Under-sheriff, his unequall levying the last Contribution. These distempers made for, and in a manner made the Lord Vicount *Wentworth*, for whereas the Politique administration of that Kingdome was then entrusted to many, under the notion of Lords Justices with their Councell, the King was perswaded that those humours would better settle and repose under a single Governour, and if so, no man more proper, none of more dexterous prudence, none of more assured fidelity then that Lord: of whom his Majesty had full experience in his *Presidence* of the *North*, which he discharged with so great wisdom, such faire integrity, as argued him worthy of the highest promotion: so that the *King* agreeable to the value he had for him, not more favouring, then righting him, invested him with the sole power of that Kingdome (in subordination to himself alone) under the title of Lord Deputy.

December the 2. the *King* fell sick of the *Small-Pocks*, but the malignity was very remisse, and gentle, so as, by Gods blessing, he soon recovered.

The same month also he sent the *Earl of Arundel* to the *Hague* to his *Sister*, both to comfort her, and sollicite her and her childrens journey into *England*: but she returned answer, that she craved her Brothers excuse for that time, having no disposition to so long a journey.

Discontents in
Ireland.

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1632.

A Contribuci-
on for repair-
ing of Saint
Pauls.

The same year *St. Pauls Church* long decayd with age fell under charitable, (shall I call it or pious consideration. A gallanter exercise for Royal magnificence there could not be; and never *King* had a greater minde to the worke, then *King Charles*, had he been stockt for it: but poverty (that grand oppressor of vertuous spirits) kept him short: But the good word of a great Man is worth gold, and though he was unfurnished himselfe, yet he commended her condition to such as were able; issuing forth a Commission to divers Lords and Gentlemen of note, willing them to exhort their adjacent neighbours to a large contribution, whereby though the summe raised by that Benevolence lookt bigge in grosse, yet did it much fail the expectation of the Bishop, and for his sake (it was supposed) suffered no small diminution; for many had no fancy to the work, meerly because he was the promoter of it, (so ill are even the best actions relisht of men lapsed into common disdain) nor did some forbear to cry; What needs this waste to decore a superstitious relique? Nevertheless the work went on, and her excoriated carkasse began to skin again, but with so slow a motion, as at length the distempers of the State marr'd the temper of the mortar, and made the Artists knock off abruptly, leaving that famous structure half ruin'd, half polite.

February the 11. there happened a terrible fire upon *London-Bridge*, which consumed very many houses, whereof the still extant gap and chasment is a visible demonstration.

Sorely vext was Bishop *Laud* to see his *Cathedral* so tedious in trimming, especially at such a time, as he did behold under his nose, so vigorous a construction of a little City, not super-edified upon an old bottom, but upstart and new-emergent from the ground.

For the *King* having granted leave to the *Earl of Bedford* to edifie at pleasure upon the *Convent Garden*, it being of a very ample and spacious Area and Content, the *Earl* ply'd his design with such celerity and quick dispatch, as he soon rear'd such numerous rows of stately and ambitious buildings, as made old *London* envy the magnificence of her Sub-urbicary sister.

But some thought this gallant structure of greater state, then safety, and that this *Kings* Father upon better reason of state, restrained such erections. For Cities are the great rendezvous of People, and where there is the greatest confluence of men, there will be the greatest power. And as all power is a kinde of grievance to them who obey, so no Power is more Tyrannicall then that of a City, witnesse *Athens*, *Sparta*, and *Rome*. And if the excessive Grandure of Cities be intolerable in a Popular State, it is much more under a single Sovereignty. For there is nothing more adverse and opposite to Regality then a *Re-publique*,
and

and as all Incorporations are in their Politique constitution elemented according to a popular Scheme, so are their Members usually principled agreeable to such intents, and onely attend untill an opinion of their formidable numbers, or some other serviceable emergency shall invite them to daring against Regall power. A truth which may be exemplified in *Jerusalem*, whose Character is delivered in Sacred Writ, under the notion of a *Rebellious City hurtfull unto Kings*, and that they have moved sedition within the same of old time, *Ezra. 4. 15.* and conformable was the late deportment of this *Metropolis*, whose Inhabitants this King sadly found the considerable Artificers of his ruine. A caveat to posterity, (whether, or not, to *His*, I leave to him whose wayes are past finding out) not to permit them to grow to a luxuriancy disproportionable from the interest of subjection.

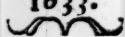
The King as you have heard before, was in the 1. year of his Reign inaugurated King of England; of England I say, not of Great Britain; wherein as Scotland challenged one moiety, so had she a Crown to confer as well as England, and that Crown that Nation thought was worth the fetching, and so did the King also at least seemingly, having it in such an anniversary consideration as every year (since his first) the time was prefixt, and his foot almost in the stirrup for a *Progresse* thither. But some thing or other came ever travers and thwart in the very nick of time, and put him by, so that his often preparations for Scotland, resembled those of *Tiberius* for visiting Provinces remote, (which gave him the by-name of *Callipedes*) who was ever going, yet never went. And the Scots themselves, none of the most candid interpreters of this Kings actions, lookt upon it no otherwayes, then as a meer mockery. The truth is, the King had no great stomach to the journey. For as the place had nothing of amenity or delight, so the Nation and race of men were not fashioned to the mode of Englands civilities; but under the scheme of an honest animosity, and specious plain-dealing, most perfidious. But things safe preponderate and out-weigh the pleasing, and it grew high time now not to delay and super-annuate longer this expectation. He had lately requested a great Person of that Nation, to whom the custody of the Crown was entrusted, to bring it into England, that he might be crowned here, and save a tedious Journey: whereto that Lord reply'd, *He durst not be so false to his trust, but if his Majesty would be pleased to accept thereof in Scotland, he should finde those his people ready to yeeld him the highest honour, but should he long defer that duty, they might perhaps be inclin'd to make choice of another King.* And a while after the Marquesse Huntly, having obtained a Toleration for the exercise of the Popish Religion in Scotland, That Council stoutly told him, *When his Majesty shall be pleased to*

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The Kings
progresse into
Scotland.

Suetonium.

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come and be crowned amongst us, He will, we doubt not, be sworn to our Lawes, mean while seeing he hath entrusted us with them, we will look they shall be observed: These speeches the King took as bold hints of his necessitated Progresse, so that finding that in reason of State, goe he must, resolved he was to appeare there like himselfe, in a most Princely equipage. The suite and traine of English Nobility he took along, were the Earls of Northumberland, Arundel, Pembroke, Southampton, Salisbury, Carlile, Holland, Monmouth and New-Castle; the Bishop of London, Lord Treasurer, Secretary Coke, Vice-Chamberlain, with many Gentlemen of quality.

May the 13. thus attended he set forward from London. His gestures and motions were much fore flowed by his making so many halts to receive the Noble treatments provided for him, by persons of Honour all along the rode; every houres repast being no lesse then a sumptuous feast. But the entertainment most of all, august and Royall was that of the Earl of New-Castle at Welbeck, which was estimated to stand the Earl in at least six thousand pounds.

His Coronation.

June the 10. he came to *Edenburgh*, the 18. was designed for the day of his Inauguration. Great Britain never saw any thing more solemn, never a more resurgent parade, and shew of bravery then that celebrity: nor doth she afford a City more agreeably disposed by Nature to represent such a triumph to the best advantage of beholders, then that of *Edenburgh*. For it being but one entire Street, very spacious, seated on the prone, and descending part of an hill, pro-tended in a right line from the Castle to Holy-rood-house (the Kings Palace) at least a mile in length, and the King setting forth from the Castle with his suit of Nobles, rode in a most resurgent state through the City to the Palace, (where he was to be crowned) so as the Spectators eyes had a full pursuit of all that glorious pomp, from the first to the last.

The Scots ill affected to him.

Thus was King Charles inaugurated King of Scotland, though not King of Scots; not all his most gracious and debonair mine towards them, could vest him in that Nations affection. His revocation (though most legall and innocent) of such things as had been depredated and scrambled away from the Crown in his Fathers minority, with a Commission of Surrenders of Superiorities and Tithes, by which the Ministers and Land-owners were bought out and redeemed from the Clientele and Vassallage of the Nobility and Laique Patrons, they could not concoct: these were the reall causes of their disaffection to him; and because that disaffection durst not look abroad under such an odious extraction, therefore they were sedulous toaine another of better acceptance. Soon after the Coronation followed an Assembly of Parliament, therein an Act of Ratification of all Acts formerly made,

made, and then in force, rather for matter of form and course, then for necessity, was propounded: yet did it finde such obstruction, as with much difficulty it passed: for those irritated spirits, whom nothing could content, but what afforded matter of discontent, would not assent; suggesting though in a clandestine way, that the design of this Act was, but to maintain *Episcopacy* (which they thought but a great chip of the old block *Poperie*) and what hopes of *Reformation*, what of planting the Gospel, what of erecting the Discipline of Jesus Christ so long as *Episcopacy* is established? But notwithstanding all these clancular, these close insinuations by these turbulent malevolents, the Act passed, and the King had so considerable and so many friends in that Kingdome, as they durst not then attempt any thing which might discompose the publique quiet.

Having thus dispatcht the serious part of his errand into *Scotland*, his Majesty gave himselfe the satisfaction of visiting *Falkland*, *Sterling*, and some other the most eminent places of pleasure, but in his return and passage from *Brunt Island* over the *Forth* to *Edenburgh*, he escaped a great danger, the winde being boisterous, and the channel insecure. This done he hastened home, and ended his progresse *July* the 20.

Not long after his return from *Scotland*, aged and selfe-scar *George Abbot* the Titular Archbishop of *Canterbury* went to his everlasting home, *August* the 4. A very learned man he was, his Erudition all of the old stamp, stifiy principled in the Doctrine of St. *Augustine*; which they who understand it not, call *Calvinisme*, therefore disrelish by them who inclined to the *Massilian* and *Arminian* Tenets. Pious, grave, and exemplary in his conversation. But some think a better Man then Archbishop, and that he was better qualified with merit for the Dignity, then with a spirit answering the function, in the exercise whereof he was conceived too facile and yeelding; his extraordinary remissness in not exacting strict conformity to the prescribed Orders of the Church in point of ceremony, seemed to resolve those legall determinations to their first principle of indifferency, and led in such an habit of Inconformity, as the future reduction of those tender conscient men to long discontinued obedience was interpreted an innovation. This was the height of what I dare report his failings reacht to: That he was a Ring-leader of that Sect which lately appeared desperate profetites, loth I am with a Partial-observer to affirm, warrant I have none to leave so ill a savour upon his fame, nor can it be infallibly inferred from these men their being then in favour with him. Their principles perhaps were entertained since his death, or if before, not then declared, and untill such secrets be discovered, men may be mi-

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staken in those they favour, the greatest sufferer of these times was so.

Next this Archbishop succeeded *William Laud* Bishop of *London*, and was translated *September 19*. Higher he could not be advanced in *England*, in *Rome* he might, and *Rome* was so studious to adopt him hers, as supposing his ambition was not terminated so, before he was translated, she seriously made him a ridiculous tender of a *Cardinals Cap*, to which he returned answer negative, *until Rome were other then it is*. Implying, that the Church had errors to which he could no waies conform, and had she been as Orthodox as ever, he who was Primate here, thought it not sorted with his honour to be second to any elsewhere.

The King having observed at his last being in *Scotland* that God Almighty was very negligently, and as he thought undecently worshipt there, took the Reformation of Sacred worship, into his Princely care; and because innovations must be (though never so necessary) led in by degrees, he first began with his own Chappel at *Holy-Rood House*, and this *October* issued forth several Articles or Orders to be there observed by the Dean of his Chappel.

First, that prayers be said twice a day according to the English form.

Secondly, That a Communion be held every moneth, and all Communicants to receive the blessed Eucharist on their knees.

Thirdly, That on *Sundaies* and *Holi-daies* he who officiates should constantly perform his duty in his *Whites* or *Surplice*.

But these Directions, though backt with a Letter requiring exact obedience, and though only relating to the Kings private Chappel, yet were very slowly observed, the Bishop of *Dunblane* then Dean of his Majesties Chappel, pleading now one thing, then another in his excuse, when in truth he knew well he should thereby displease the people; and what the consequence might be of displeasing a Nation so combustible, as that and whose fury would assume the greater liberty in the absence of his Majesty, as he did easily foresee, so did he think it concerned him to prevent.

In the year 1618. King *James* published a Command or Declaration tolerating sports on the Lords Day called Sunday. This Declaration then caused so many impetuous clamours against it, as it was soon after called in. And was this *October* revived and ratify'd by King *Charles*. The expresse design of this was to restore the Feasts of Dedication of Churches commonly called *Wakes* to their ancient solemnity, and to allow the use of lawful pastimes in the lower row upon that day. It was also

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argued in favour of it, That there was in the Kingdome a potent tendency in many to Judaisme, occasioned by the dangerous Doctrine and Positions of several Puritans, especially of one *Theophilus Brabourn* an obscure and ignorant Schoolmaster, asserting the perpetual and indispenfable morality of the *Sabbath* of the fourth Commandement. Again in other no small inclination to Popery, occasion'd by the rigour and strictnesse of *Sabbatarian Ministers*, in denying People recreations on the Sunday. But all these plausible insinuations operated little to a welcome entertainment. Nor was there any one *Royal Edict*, during all King *Charles* his reign, resented with equal regret. The fault was least his *Majesties*, and not only ill Counsell, but ill custome was to blame: for the King might say of this his Day, as *Jacob* did once of God's House, *Surely the Lord was in this Day, and I knew it not*. For, too true it is, the Divinity of the *Lords-Day*, was then new Divinity at Court, where the publique Assemblies once over, the indulgence of secular Employment and of Recreations, was thought so little disservice to God, as (time sans memorie) not only civill affairs were usually debated at the Councell Table, but also representations of Masques were rarely on other then Sabbath nights; and all this fomented by the both doctrine and practice of men, very eminent in the Church: which seemed the greater prodigy, that they who so eagerly cryed up their own Orders, and revenues for Divine, should so much de-cry the *Lords-Day* for being such, when they had no other Existence, then in relation to This; But of this elsewhere.

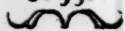
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November the 6. the young Prince *Electer*, by the Proxie of the *Earl of Dover*, and the *Duke of Lenox*, received at *Windsor* the honor of *Garter*.

The 14. of the same moneth, the *Queen* was delivered of another Son, who was baptizd the 24. by the name of *James*, and was after styled *Duke of York*.

February the 2^d. (you may if you please call it *Candlemas* night) had been time out of minde celebrated at Court with somewhat more then ordinary solemnity: and never was any more glorious then that of this year: the four *Innes* of Court presenting both their *Majesties* at *Whitchall*, with a gallant Masque as a Symbole of their joynt affections. An exact account of this radiant shew, would make a bad shew in so grave a *History*, nor shall I need say more, then that for curiosity of fancy, for excellency of performance, for lustre and dazling splendor, this age, though passionately addicted to the glory of such inventions, never before or since within this Ile afforded the like. So brave a Spectacle it was, as it not only delighted the Court, but set the *London Dames* on longing to behold such galery within their City wals; upon this account some ten daies after both their *Majesties*, with their

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their train of Court Grandees & Gentlemen Revellers, were solemnly by Alderman *Freeman* then Lord Major invited to a most sumptuous banquet at his House, where that resplendent shew was iterated, and re-exhibited, so as not only this year, but this moneth may be said to have had two Candlemas nights. This entertainment was very costly to the City, so dear was then, I say not this *King*, but their own vanity to them, and that their vanity was dearer to them than their *King* is evident, because some few years after, when they flourished, and he wanted most to repress the *Scottish-darings*, he could not obtain from them any the least pittance of supply.

The next spring his Majesty fell upon *David's* design, but not upon *David's* sin, of numbring the People, the ground whereof was this.

Forein Princes and States with whom he was in amity, were earnest suitors to him, that by his leave they might make some military levies within his Dominions. Willing he was to comply with those desires, but would first provide against his own prejudice; that he might therefore take the better notice of what was supernumerary to his own preservation, he caused a general muster to be made of all persons (under the degree of *Esquires*) fit to bear arms from the age of sixteen, to sixty, and after the return of the Roll he condescended to their requests.

This summer the *King*, followed the Counsel of *Themistocles*, began to apply himselfe to the mastery of the British seas, to which he had most potent provocations: for his coasts were not only infected with *Pickroons*, *Turks*, and *Dunkirk* Pirats to the great dammage of traffique, but his very Dominion in the narrow seas actually usurped by the *Holland*-Fishers, and the right it selfe in good earnest disputed, by a late Tract of learned *Grotius* called *Mare liberum*. These were craving occasions and concernments not of honour only, but of safety also. And how these could be provided for was the grand difficulty, for the charge of the enterprize would be excessive, and his *Exchequer* empty, how that vacuity should be filled up was a *Question*, and that *Question* King *Charles* his infelicity; for without all question the most natural and proper resort had been to his Subjects in *Parliament*, but his and their late so unfriendly, so unkind parting, gave him slender assurance of relief from them, and made him loth to give himselfe the trouble of their denial. And for such Subjects, to deny such a *King*, upon such an occasion was (he thought) a deplorable case. Had he wasted and decocted his Treasure in luxury and riot, had he been profuse in bounty, to his Favourites, and had contracted want that way; had he prest upon his Peoples liberties above the mode of his progenitors, and so alienated their affections, had not his people been in state to supply

supply him, all these had been considerable, and every one something. But never *King* was more frugall, never *King* more retentive in his largesses, never *King* had made more obliging concessions to his Subjects.

This disinclination of the Parliament to assist the *King*, and his impendent necessity, had power, I will not say cause, enough to urge in another *King* a repetition of *Privy Seales*, *Loans*, and such disgustfull impositions. But to *King Charles* it was sufficient they were illegall, resolved he was no extremity, no not an invincible, and fatall one, should provoke him to temerate, to violate those Lawes; yet if any thing did happily escape (as he hoped there did) the curiosity of the late restraint upon him by the *Petition of Right*, or was left at the dispose of his *Prerogative*, he doubted not but he might without scruple of conscience to himselfe, or offence to the publique, take benefit thereof. Therefore for a cunning man (the cunning'st at such a Project, of any within his three Dominions) he sends, that is, for his Attorney generall *Noy*, tells him what he had in contemplation, bids him contrive the mode (but a legall one) for defraying the expence. Away goes the subtil engineer, and at length from old records progs and bolts out an ancient Precedent of raising a Tax, for setting forth a Navy in case of danger. The *King* glad of the discovery, as of *Treasure trouve*, presently issued out Writs, first to the Port Townes within the Realme, declaring that the safety of the Kingdome was in danger (and so it was indeed) and that therefore they should provide against a day prefixt, twenty seven Ships of so many Tun, with Guns, Gunpowder, Tackle and all, other things necessary. This fell heavy upon those Towns, and made them groan aloud, complaining, that if the safety of the whole Kingdome were concerned therein, reason good that the uplanders should pay also for their benefit, whereupon it was thought fit soon after to impose the Tax upon all the Counties of *England*, encreasing the number to forty seven. But these Ships were scarce fitted to float upon the Main, before they were dry foundred at Land: for it being a burthen, every man began to shun the weight. The Clergy pleaded they were priviledged persons, and not liable to civill charges, but the Judges argued against them, that there is *Trinoda necessitas*, a three-fold necessity, which bindes as well Clergy as Laiety, viz. *Aide in Warre* (such as this) *the building of Bridges, and making of Forts*. Whereupon though the Arch-Bishop opposed it strongly, they were made contributors to the Tax. And the Laiety objected, that it being charged out of Parliament, it was contrary to the *Petition of Right*. The severall processees and motions of this difference, and how at length it reposed, are not now in season, but will more tempestively occurre, in the ensuing series of this Narration. For

Next to the birth of the Project, succedeth the death of the

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Projector. That *Attorney Generall* ending this life *August* the ninth. His decease following his invention of Ship-money so close at the heels, seemed to the people as an overture of some benignity from Heaven, and almost perswaded them that *God* was interested in what they accounted their *oppression*. He was a man passing humorous, of a Cynicall rusticity, a most indefatigable plodder, and searcher of antient Records, whereby he became an eminent instrument both of good and ill (and of which most is a great question) to the *Kings* prerogative. For during the time that Parliaments were frequent, he appeared a stout Patriot of the Comminalty, and in the last was an active opponent in the difference concerning *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. But when the dissolution of that was, in most mens apprehensions, the end of all; No sooner did the *King* shew him the lure of advancement, but quitting all his former inclinations, he wheel'd about to the *Prerogative*, and made amends with his future service, for all his former dis-obligations.

About the same time *Axel Oxenshiern*, the grand *Chancellor*, and generall Director of the *Swedish* affaires, sent over his Son (a Gentleman of singular Gallantry and accomplishments) in the quality of an *Ambassadour* to our *King*, who treated him very nobly, suitable to his both merit and extraction; but in regard he came without credentiall Letters from the *Queen of Sweden*, and the *King* was ignorant of the latitude and extent of his Fathers power, as to constituting *Ambassadours*, he denied him Audience, whereupon he returned in some disgust.

This year there was a Parliament called in *Ireland* at the motion of the *Lord Deputy*, founded upon very considerable reasons. In the time of *Edward the third*, that Kingdome did yeeld to the Crown *ultra reprisas*, all charges born, thirty thousand pounds *per annum*. But now his *Majesties* Revenue fell short of defraying the yearly charge twenty thousand pound *per annum*, which was supplied by way of Contribution from the Subject, and the Crown had contracted a debt of eighty thousand pounds. This Contribution was to determine the next yeare, and renewed it could not legally be, but by *Parliament*, and if that Parliament would but grant three Subsidies, they would advance enough to maintain the Army, and providently ordered to discharge his *Majesties* debt; and that the Parliament should be inclined thereto, the *King* had many reasons to hope. First, they had granted but one Subsidy since the beginning of *King James* his reign. Secondly, the Kingdome was now grown rich, peace begetting plenty. Lastly, his Majesty had lately obliged them by settling all Estates where there had been twenty yeares continued possession; nor did his expectation mis-carry, the *Lord Deputy* proceeding with that prudence, that he obtained his ends.

To tell you that at that very time, there was also a Synod held,

is no news, *Synods* and *Parliaments* being most usually associates the one of the other; nor is it newes to tell you, That during that Synod, the Articles framed in the Convocation, Anno 1615. were repealed, and the 39 Articles of *England* substituted in their stead; for this hath passed up and down for a truth so currant, and with so much confidence as very many (my selfe for one) of different inclinations and perswasions have given it reception; and yet in truth there is no such thing, for those Articles were never abrogated. Nay nor (which is more) opposition considerable against them, all the pretext I can discover for this mistake, is onely this, that there was a Canon then agreed upon, wherein that Church declared her consent with the Church of *England*, for the satisfaction and undeceiving all such as have been otherwise informed, I shall here present you with the Canon it selfe, the Title whereof is,

Of the agreement of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*,
in the Profession of the same Christian Faith.

For the manifestation of our agreement with the Church of *England*, in the confession of the same Christian Faith, and Doctrine of the Sacraments. We doe receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Arch Bishops and Bishops, and the whole Clergy, in the whole Convocation holden at London, Anno Dom. 1562. for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true Religion. And therefore if any hereafter shall affirme, that any of those Articles are in any part Superstitious, or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good Conscience subscribe unto. Let him be Excommunicated, and not absolved, before he make a publick revocation of his error.

This information the most Reverend, and not lesse Learned Lord Primate of *Armagh*, did me the honour to communicate to me.

I must not leave *Ireland* before I have vindicated the innocence of the Lord Deputy from an accusation, or rather a calumny of Mr. *Pryn*, who extracts from Sir *Thomas Duttons* Letter, a relation of a great mutiny of Papists in *Dublin*, which he fixeth upon this year, and delivereth it as the effect of the Lord Deputy his connivance, and fomenting that faction: in both which, the man is grossly mistaken, for that mutiny he mentioneth, anteceded this Lords Deputation two years, as this Narrative hath placed it. And for the Popish *Recusants*, certaine it is, they never were kept within stricter duty, nor held closer to loyall obedience, then during the time he governed them, either because they durst not irritate so austere a Magistrate, or that their inventive factions, both there and in *England*, found them other employment.

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Panzeri his
negotiation.

For notwithstanding the Recesse of *Richard Smith*, the pretended Bishop of *Calcedon*, formerly mentioned in the difference betwixt the *Secular* and *Regular Priests*, was heightened to that animosity, as the *Pope* himselfe was found to rouze and declare himselfe concerned in so great a scandall to the unity of the *Romish Church*, and because he could not proceed to cure this *Schisme*, untill he rightly understood the originall ground thereof; over he dispatcheth hither *Gregory Panzeri*, a *Civilian* and *Romish Priest*, with a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, leaving and determining the quarrell, if not to certifie to him the state of the cause, and where the fault lay. This was the upper mantle of the Plot, which had reality in it enough to overspread more secret designs, so as they were not transparent to vulgar eyes. But though his instruction would not own any other lading, yet certain it is, (as shall by and by appear) they had taken in other contrivances of pernicious import to this both Church and State.

December the 25 of this present year, *Panzeri* arrives at *London*, and no sooner arrived, he bends and buckles with double diligence to his work, he first serves himselfe with oylie insinuations into some favour with Secretary *Windebanke*, and the Lord *Cottingham*, persons of eminent esteem at Court, by his sly instruments he dives into the thoughts of the Court Divines, to discover whether or not the King would permit the residing of a *Catholick Bishop* of the *English Nation*, to be nominated by his Majesty, and not to exercise his function, but as his Majesty should limit. This proposition upon mature advice, begat a like quere to *Panzeri*, Whether the *Pope* would allow of such a Bishop to be designed, as did hold the Oath of Allegiance to be lawfull, or at as least would tolerate the taking of it by the *Catholicks*. For that Oath being solemnly enacted by *Parliament*, the King could not change it but by a way supernaturall to the constitution of this Kingdome. *Panzeri* finding himselfe dangerously entangled with this question, very fairly gives them the slip, by pleading his no-Commission to declare it. And being thus non-suited in his first enterprize, resolved he was to play at small games rather then to sit out, by his Court correspondents, he moves the King, and by himselfe the Queen, for the permission of a *Nuncio* or *Agent* from the *Pope*, to be address'd to the Queen, for the concernments of her Religion. The King advising with his Council condescended to it with this caution, that the person sent should be no Priest. The transacting of these particulars spent him about a year and halfe, during which time, with a zeale no lesse, he pursued his private instructions. He exceedingly solicited the compliance of severall of the Court-Clergy, to whom he past profuse promises of Ecclesiasticall promotions of the noblest dignity. He ceated not cunningly to spy into the passions, inclinations, dependances of all the Kings most secret Councell; how to treat, how to win, how to render them serviceable

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serviceable for the *Romish* interest, and lest it should be thought he neglected the main, in the close of all he procured an indifferent faire agreement between the *Seculars* and *Regulars*. This done, Anno 1636. home he flies him, leaving Seignior *George Con*, the *Popes Agent* to act the rest, of whom more hereafter.

The *Scottish* discontents I mentioned in the last Annal, which the *King* left behinde him, boyling upon a soft and gentle fire, began now to contract a little more confidence in his absence, and to tempt his patience by a most malicious plot against his fame, as preambulatory to another against his Person. The peoples miades were not yet made susceptible enough of, nor sufficiently infected with their mischievous impressions; and because the first work and operation in the method of sedition, is to leaven that mass, first they whispered and instill'd into them close intelligence of some terrible plot against their liberties; then they sent abroad a venomous *Libel*, wherein they endeavoured to infame the *Kings* proceedings in the last Parliament, as indirect, to charge him with the suborning of, and corrupting the then suffrages, and suggested formidable fictions of his tendency to the *Romish* belief.

This virulent paper passing through many hands, fell at length into some of disaffected inclinations, who presently as duty dictated, informed the Lords of the *Privy Councell* thereof; upon which ensued a strict and narrow search into the authors and abettors thereof; the contriver was discovered to be one *Hagge* then escaped, and the chiefs of the Abettors was the Lord *Balmerino*.

This Lords Father was a creature of King *James*, and by him advanced to be his chiefe Secretary of State; a seeming Protestant, but inside Romanist. Being a Minister of so neer admission to the King, he had been often tampering with him to send a letter of compliment (contrived by himselfe) to Pope *Clement*; which the King as oft refused, not without indignation at the motion. Whereupon *Balmerino* taking advantage of the Kings haste, when he was going a hunting, he being to sign severall other dispatches, he cunningly shuffled in that Letter amongst the rest, so as the King signed it unawares. Some yeares after Cardinall *Bellarmino* mentioning that Letter to the Kings dis-advantage, and the King taking notice thereof, questioned his Secretary for it, who upon his triall confessed the whole truth, for which he was by his Peers found guilty, and suitable to his merit, adjudged to be hang'd, drawn and quartered, and his estate confiscated to the *Crown*. But that King was mild beyond measure, some thought beyond policy, and all this notwithstanding would not spill his blood, which was a clemency most transcendant; had his mercy ended there; but that pardon which was too much mercy for so high an offender, was, he thought, too little for so great a King, therefore in craft

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The *Scotts* begin to plot against the King.

The Lord *Balmerino* arraigned.

Matth. Torr. ad Apolog. Anglic. Responsio.

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of time he shined upon him with such grace, as restored him both in blood and estate. This *Lord* being heir *ex asse* (even to his very perfidiousness) of what was his Fathers, thus lapsed into a similiary crime, underwent similiary proceedings of triall and arraignment, was also by his Peers found guilty, and sentence of Death ready to be pronounced against him. True it is, the verdict of his Peers past amongst those who wished well both to him and that *Libell*, as over-severe. But the *Lord* finding himselfe convicted as a malefactor, and by consequence his life at the dispose of his Majesty, had the wit his Father taught him, to resort to the Kings mercy, which (that the parallel might still proceed) was as graciously dispensed to him. This Princely favour the *Lord* received (as well it merited) in the lowest posture of a suppliant on his knees, with highest recognisance of his *Majesties* goodness, and deepest vowes of future loyalty that an obligation so high could deserve. But long he held not to the conscience of those protestations, so ingratelously relapsing some few yeares after, as if he had only craved leave to offend againe.

During these proceedings against this *Lord*, the Earl of *Kenoul* Lord Chancellor of that Kingdome dyed, next whom succeeded the *Archbishop* of *St. Andrews*.

Sir Edward
Coke dyed.

In *England* fell two great Favorites of different parties, of the Comminalties one, of the Kings another: of the Comminalties, Sir *Edward Coke*, who dyed about the latter end of this Summer. Full of dayes he dyed, most whereof he had spent in eminent place and honour. His abilities in the Common Law, whereof he passed for the great Oracle, raising him to the dignity first of *Attorney Generall* to Queen *Elizabeth*, then of *Lord Chief Justice* of the *Kings Bench* under *King James*. His advancement he lost the same way he got it, by his tongue. So rare is it for a man very eloquent, not to be over-loquent. Long lived he in that retirement to which Court indignation had remitted him, yet was not his recess in-glorious; for at improving a disgrace to the best advantage, he was so excellent, as *King James* said of him, *he was like a Cat, throw her which way you will, she will light upon her feet*. And finding a Cloud at the Court, he made sure of fair weather in the Countrey; applying himselfe so devoutly to popular interest, as in succeeding Parliaments, the Prerogative felt him, as her ablest, so her most active opponent. Upon which account he was 1 *Caroli*, made *Higb Sheriffe* of *Buckinghamshire*, on purpose to exclude him the ensuing Parliament, there being an especiall *Nolumus* and clause in his Commission prohibiting his Election, notwithstanding which, elected he was in *Norfolke*, and those words of Restraint upon debate of the Question in the House of Commons voted void.

On

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On the Kings, the Great Lord Treasurer, Sir *Richard Weston* Earl of *Portland*, this year and he almost expiring together, he ending this life *March* the thirteenth. A sad losse to the *King*, and the sadder, because he thought it irreparable. The truth is, he was a person very able for the office, and the *Exchequer* was in the mending hand, while he enjoyed that place, for he had a singular artifice both in improving the incomes, and in a frugall moderation of his Masters expences: But the Kings sorrow was not so extreme for him, but the peoples joy was full as great. For there was now grown so sad an antipathy between his *Majestie* and his Subjects, that like those two Emperors *Antonine* and *Geta*, they were alwayes of contrary senses and mindes, rarely agreeing in any one particular. The deportment whereby he so disoblighd the Comminalty was his promoting Monopolies, and other advantages of Regality. The Archbishop and he were usually at great odds, yet which is a rarity both in high favovr with the King. His vacant place was for the present entrusted to Commissioners, untill the King should otherwise dispose thereof.

The Archbishop was now grown as great as power could make him, and active in the exercise of that power beyond the practice of his Predecessor, whereby he set many tongues about his ears: Men beginning now to rant it in their petulancy to Libel and reproach him, and more then men, women also, amongst these the Lady *Purbeck* meditating a piece of petty revenge for his so severe censure of her in the high *Commission*, vented words of deep disgrace against him, for which by the *Archbishops* procurement she was committed, *March* the 24.

The Parenthesis of the *Kings* private losse in the Lord Treasurer, did not create in him a neglect of his publick charge, but he had still his thoughts fixt upon the general affairs, especially upon his Naval preparation, which now began to promise faire toward the design. For besides a Squadron of twenty Ships then fitting for the conduct of the Earl of *Essex*, he had compleated a fleet of forty more gallantly appointed, which dis-anchred *May* the 4. and were commanded by the Earl of *Lindsey* as Admiral. But all the service they performed this Summer was inconsiderable, in regard they never came to engagement, only their formidable appearance secured the Seas from those petty-larcenies and piracies, wherewith they were formerly so molested.

September the 29. the Earl of *Arundel* brought up to *London* out of *Shropshire*, one *Robert Parr* as the wonder of our times for long life, he having attained to the age of neer 160. and probably might have continued longer, had not so tedious a journey and over-violent agitation of his aged body accelerated his end, so that it may be said, he sacrificed some years to others curiosity.

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Weston Lord
Treasurer dy-
eth.

Xiphiline:

Robert Parr an
aged man.

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The Prince
Elector arri-
ved.

In November, Charles Prince Elector came over into England, to tender dues of honour and respect to his Uncle our King, and partly to sollicite towards his restauration. His passage was very turbulent; being after his imbarque, twice driven back by tempest, and when at last he came upon the English Coast, and was to be received by Sir John Pennington into the *Vant-guard*, which welcomed him with a volley of great shot, it fortun'd an unhappy boy gave fire without order to a peece of Ordnance, whose ball entred the Ship where his Highnesse was aboard, and killed two men not farre distant from him, at which he was much affrighted. His reception at Court was with all possible ceremonies and caresses of complimēt, to whom the Prince of Wales resigned up his lodging at *White-hall*.

December the 28. the Queen was deliver'd of another Daughter, who was Christened *Elizabeth*, January the 2.

Soon after arriv'd at London Prince Rupertus, second brother to his Electorall Highnesse, the Prince Palatine.

An Ambassa-
dor from Hol-
land.

And at the heels of him followed an Ambassador from *Holland*, sent to congratulate with their Majesties, the happy birth of their second Daughter; and because compliments are valued according to the cost is in them, they perfum'd this respect with presenting to them a massive peece of *Amber Gris*, two huge Basons of China-earth, a noble clock, the manufacture, the workmanship of *Rodolphus* the Emperor, and four rare Tables of Painture.

Bishop Fuxon
made Lord
Treasurer.

Affaires of the Treasury being managed by Commissioners, many hot disputes were generated amongst them, especially between the Archbishop and the Lord Chittington; so as the Kings discretion was called in to part the fray, by committing the staffe of that office into the hands of *William Fuxon* Lord Bishop of London, March 6. who was none of the worst Bishops. His moderate and equall temper in Church affaires gained love, so in those of the State he preserved it by the same constant calmnesse, and withall exhibited therein clear demonstration of his intemperate integrity, qualities meritorious of good esteem.

He who desires to pourtray *England*, without fore-shortning and in her full stature of External Glory, let him now take her demensions, he shall behold her Church shining in transcendent empyreal brightnesse, and purity of Evangelicall Truths. Her Religious performances, her holy Offices, ordered and regulated agreeable to the strict expedient of such sacred actions. Her Discipline, Modell, suitable to the Apostolique forme. The set and suit of her holy Tribe, renowned for Piety and Learning, and all those in so supereminend a degree, that no Church on this side of the Apostolique, can, or ever could, compare with her in any one: He shall behold the Civill State governed by a King, who (in reputation) never had his Parallel amongst all the Princes of the world, for vertues Divine and

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and *Moral*, none of the least beatitudes of a Common-wealth; Princes examples having a stronger influence upon their Subjects *Manners*, then their *Lawes*, He shall behold a Court most radiant in all the concernments of bravery: All Arts and Sciences highly honoured, and consequently their Academies to flourish: The City Merchant enricht by Traffique, beyond the pattern of former times: The Countrey Farmer wealthy: And, into the bargain of all these, an Univerfall Peace on every side; as it were, to assure the quiet possession of them. This Nation now in so splendid a condition, who could imagine that it could in a short space be stript and dismantled of all these blessings? But vicissitude is the great standard of human affaires, like the Sun neereſt their tropique in their most exalted pitch. And at this very instant in *England*, whilst it went well with every one, it went ill with all; and though the Kingdom thrived in parcels, yet was it deceived in the whole. For now began the spirit of *envy*, *emulation*, and *discord*, the inseperable companions of prosperity, to split us into *Devisions* and *Factions*, *Sidings*, and that's enough; for a *Kingdome divided against it selfe cannot stand*. And as the worst of *Factions* are generated in the best of concernments, *Religion*, so there did ours unhappily begin, and about this very time, great commotions and stirs arising in the Church concerning *Ceremonies*.

The *Bishop*, of late yeares supinely, either carelesse, or indulgent, had not required within their Diocesses that strict obedience to Ecclesiasticall constitutions, which the Law expected: Upon this the *Leiturgy* began to be in a manner totally laid aside, and in conformity the uniforme practise of the Church. The now *Archbishop* was of another minde and metall; that the external worship of God should follow the fashion of every private fancy, he did not like; and what he did not like in that subject, as he was in state, so he thought it was his duty to reforme. Therefore keeping this yeare his Metropolitall *visitation*, he calls upon all both Clergy and Laity, to observe the *Rules* of the Church. Can it give just offence, to say that, thus far, he did but what sorted with the office of so great a Prelate? Where there is not a legall settlement for the upholding uniformity, Schisme will flow in apace; and the Church hath experimentally found, Schisme in things adiaphorous, is as fatall to her well-being, as Heresie in points Dogmaticall. And better no Lawes at all, then that notwithstanding such establishments, men be permitted in practise to goe more or lesse. But his zeale to order, that carried him thus farre, transported him a little too farre. The Communion Table which formerly stood in the midst of the Church or Chancel, he injoynd to be placed at the East end, upon a graduated advance of ground, with the ends inverted, and a wooden traverse of *railes* before it, to keep *Profanation* off, to which *Railes* all *Communicants* were to resort. These things were decent and comely in contem-

Commotions
about ceremo-
nies of the
Church.

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contemplation, and had been so in practise, had they been within the rule of the Church directions, but being anomalous innovations, and so severely urged, many became thereupon *precise*, and separated themselves into factious sidings; nor was this a Schisme of an ordinary assise, but grew to that proceſſe, to that degree, as, to speak in the primitive mode, *Altar was erected against Altar*, that is, one *Bishop* impugned and opposed another; for the Bishop of *Lincoln* (being affronted by one *Titly* Vicar of *Grantham*) published a Tract under a concealed name, positively asserting therein, *That the Holy Table anciently did in the Primitive times*, and ought so in ours, according to the Dictates of our Church, stand *in gremio*, and nave of the quire. And as the Archbishop whilst he so vehemently pursued order, did a little outrun authority, so was he unhappy in those he did employ as instruments and subordinates under him, some whereof endeavoured to superinduct many things as will-worship of their own, and which came within a Mathematical line of Popery; nor were they blamelesse in their lives, some being vicious even to scandal, nor of so meek and humble behaviour as was to be wisht, but insolent at a rate so intollerable, as one was bold to say, *he hoped to live to see the day, when a Minister should be as good a man, as any upstart Jack Gentleman in England*: to such a height of infatuation, had a petty blaze of mistaken honour elevated this high Flyer; who in lieu of those frolique dayes he looked to see, lived to see that very Hierarchy extirpated, and lived to see himself deplumed of all his Pomp. These exorbitances of those *Sons of Eli*, from the rules of Ethicks, created a very great disgust against them, and many well enough affected to their *Empire*, did exceedingly blame their *imperiosity*. The Presbyterians were gainers by all this, being men for the generality free of any morall scandal (saving that they were thought *Saint Pauls* Idolaters, and over-solicitous of *filthy lucre*) and pretended to a most demure formality and supple mildnesse, plausible insinuations into vulgar esteem, whereby they daily prevailed upon the affections of such, who little thought such out-side lambs, had clawes and asperities (so cunningly did they conceal them) far more sharp and terrible then the Prelates, whereof they gave some yeares after, sensible demonstration.

The next Summer the Royal Fleet now compleated to sixty sail of tall Ships, set sail from the *Downes* for the North, to scour that Sea as of Pirates, so of the *Flemish Busses*; which they did to so good effect, as they were soon reduced to a precarious condition, and to entreat the favour of fishing by his *Majesties* commission: a veniality the King was most ready to indulge them; For first, in that preparation he had no design paramount to the preservation of his Regalities in the *British Ocean*; this gained, he sought no more. Again, he knew well that nothing was more pertinent to the Prince *Electors* interest, then the correspondence of those States, nor was any assistance

stance more like to mean and procure his Restauration then theirs, and therefore it was good policy to oblige them with all fair shews of amity. For the *Kings* passion for his Nephews restauration did not at all languish, but rather contracted new vigour from his presence at the *English Court*. And because there was indicted an Imperial *Diet* at *Ratisbone*, *Septemb.* the 16. of this year, for the Election of an *Emperour*, he was resolved once more to sollicite his cause, hoping the change of the person might dispose to a change of minde. The instrument he made choyce of for this affair, was the Earl of *Arundel*, Lord Marshall of *England*, in most gallant equipage he went attended with a noble train, and comming to the Imperial Court, he presented his Masters request to the *Emperour*; who reply'd that it was probable that Prince might be re-admitted to enjoy the lower *Palatinate*, but as to the higher it was not likely that the *Duke of Bavaria*, who then posselt himselfe of it, would listen to any proposition destructive to his present interest therein. A very sharp and fierce encounter there was between the Ambassadour and the Deputies of the *Emperour* upon this subject; so as they could hardly temper themselves from offensive contumelies. Some of the *Electors* in the *Diet* were very inclinable to the restitution, conceiving that it would be very difficult to found a stedy peace without it, but the *Duke of Bavaria* said peremptorily he would neither part with the territories, nor Dignity Electoral, while he was able by the sword to hold them: whereupon the Lord Ambassadour much incensed that he so long attended to so little purpose, without deigning any the honour of an *a Dieu*, made haste away: and though the *Emperour* did send the *Spanish* and *Polegn* Ambassadors after to appease him, and to request his patience but a moneth longer, yet would he not be exorated or be prevailed with, but came directly home, having first dispatcht Letters of advice to his Master, concerning the state of his Negotiation; whereby the *King* discontented at the small regard his Ambassadour found at the Imperial *Diet*, was prompted to return an equall slight upon an Agent employed soon after by the *Emperour* hither about the same affair.

This breach between our *King* and the *Emperour*, did not at this time more seem to frown upon, then another occasion to flatter that Princes fortunes; for now the *King of Poland* sent Prince *Ratzevill* to treat with our *King* of a marriage between that *King* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, sister of the Prince *Electer*, which was prosecuted to a very neer point of conclusion. Certain it is, that *King* was seriously inclined to the match, but he being an Elective Prince, was in such an affair to submit to the *Diet* of that Kingdome, and in that it found so fair acceptance, as two of the three *Estates* had once accorded to it. But

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Earl of Arundel sent Ambassador into Germany.

Overtures of a match between the King of Poland and the Lady Elizabeth.

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the Clergy making a pause in their consent, upon a seeming suggestion that the businessse was of too high importance to be so precipitated, in the interim interveneth a proposition from the Emperour and King of Spain, of *Cecilia Arch-Duchesse*, and second sister of the Emperour. This overture so soon wrought upon that Nation, as renouncing all further treaty with *England*, or any other State, the match was instantly concluded with that *Austrian Lady*, and the Prince Elector remitted to his former state of diffidence, if not of despair.

The *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* having in his Provincial visitation the last year settled Church affairs in most places to his minde, though thereby he had unsettled and discomposed the mindes of others, began now to cast a narrow eye upon the University of *Cambridge*. Some spies had informed him, that not only Divine Service was performed, but also Sacraments administered in severall *Chappels* there, as in those of *Emanuel* and *Sidney-Sussex* Colledge, which had not yet been consecrated. This he thought an high indignity to Religion, and such as created a necessity of his visitation. But the University hearing of what he purposed, pretended an exemption from his Jurisdiction, that they had the Power he challenged within the Charter of their own Foundation; and that saving themselves, none had right to visit them, unlesse it were his Majesty, whom they agnised as their Founder. Whereupon so hot a contest arose between the *Archbishop* and the University, that it came to an hearing before the King and his Privy Council at *Hampton Court*, where it was overruled for the *Archbishop*.

The great debate about
Ship-money.

In *Michaelmas* term was canvassed and debated that grand controversie between the King and Subject about *Shipmony*: for the *Ship writs* having been issued out *August* the 11. 1635. to divers Counties, many Inhabitants, and amongst the rest Mr. *Hambden* of *Buckinghamshire*, assessed by the Sheriffe, made default of payment, whereupon the King (so steddily a respect did he defer to justice) equally hating to be either flattered into, or frightened from the belief of its legality, wrote a letter to the Judges, demanding their opinions upon the case stated, the Letter was,

To Our trusty and well-beloved Sir John Bramston, Knight, Chief Justice of Our Bench, Sir John Finch, Knight, Chief Justice of Our Court of Common Pleas, Sir Humphrey Davenport, Knight, Chiefe Baron of Our Court of Exchequer, and to the rest of the Judges of Our Courts of Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and the Barons of our Court of Exchequer.

Charles

Charles Rex.

‘Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you
‘well, taking into Our Princely consideration,
‘that the Honor and safety of this Our Realm
‘of *England*, the preservation whereof is onely
‘entrusted to Our care, was, and is, more dear-
‘ly concern’d then in late former times; as well
‘by divers counsells and attempts to take from
‘Vs the Dominion of the Seas, of which We
‘are sole Lord, and rightfull Owner, or Pro-
‘priator, and the losse whereof would be of
‘greatest danger, and perill to this Kingdome,
‘and other Our Dominions, and many other
‘wayes: We, for the avoiding of these and
‘the like dangers, well weighing with Our self
‘that where the good and safety of the King-
‘dome in generall is concern’d, and the whole
‘Kingdome in danger, there the charge and de-
‘fence ought to be born by all the Realm in
‘generall: did, for the preventing so pub-
‘lique a mischief, resolve with Our self to have
‘a Royal Navy prepared, that might be of
‘force and power (with Almighty Gods blef-
‘sing and assistance) to protect and defend this
‘Our Realm, and Our Subjects therein from
‘all such perils and dangers, and for that pur-
‘pose We issued forth writs under Our Great
‘Seal of *England*, directed to all Our Sheriffs

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' of Our severall Counties of *England* and
 ' *Wales*, Commanding thereby all Our said
 ' Subjects, in every City, Town, and Vil-
 ' lage, to provide such a number of Ships, well
 ' furnisht, as might serve for this Royall pur-
 ' pose, and which might be done with the
 ' greatest equality that could be. In perform-
 ' ance whereof, though generally throughout
 ' all the Counties of this Our Realm, We
 ' have found in Our Subjects great chearful-
 ' nesse and alacrity, which We graciously in-
 ' terpret as a testimony, as well of their duti-
 ' full affection to us, and our service, as of the
 ' respect they have to the Publique, which well
 ' becometh every good Subject; Neverthelesse
 ' finding that some few, happily out of igno-
 ' rance what the Lawes and Customes of this
 ' Realm are, or out of a desire to be eased in
 ' their particulars, how generall soever the
 ' charge be, or ought to be, have not yet paid
 ' and contributed to the severall Rates and As-
 ' sessments that were set upon them. And
 ' fore-seeing in Our Princely wisdome, that
 ' from thence divers Suites and Actions are
 ' not unlikely to be commenced, and prosecu-
 ' ted in our severall Courts at *Westminster*; VVe,
 ' desirous to avoid such inconveniences, and
 ' out of Our Princely love and affection to all
 ' Our People, being willing to prevent such er-
 ' rours

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‘rours as any of our loving Subjects may
‘happen to run into, have thought fit in a case
‘of this nature to advise with you Our Judges,
‘who We doubt not are well studyed and in-
‘formed in the Rights of Our Sovereignty.
‘And because the trials in Our several Courts,
‘by the formalities in pleading, will require a
‘long protraction, We have thought fit by
‘this Letter directed to you all, to require your
‘Judgments in the Case, as it is set down in the
‘inclosed Paper, which will not only gain time,
‘but also be of more Authority to over-rule
‘any prejudicate opinions of others in the
‘Point. Given under Our Signet at Our
‘Court of *White-hall*, the 2. day of *February* in
‘the twelfth year of Our Reign, 1636.

Charles Rex.

Charles Rex.

*When the good and safety of the Kingdome
in generall is concern'd, and the whole King-
dome in danger; whether may not the King
by Writ under the Great Seal of England,
command all the Subjects in his Kingdome at
their charge to provide and furnish such num-
ber of Ships with men, viduals, and Mu-
nition, and for such time as he shall think fit
for the defence and safeguard of the King-
dome*

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dome from such danger and peril, and by Law compell the doing thereof in case of refusall or refractorinesse: and whether in such case is not the King the sole Judge both of the danger, and when, and how the same is to be prevented and avoided?

To which the Judges delivered their opinions as followeth;

May it please your most excellent Majesty, we have according to your Majesties command, severally, and every man by himself, and all of us together, taken into serious consideration the case and questions signed by your Majesty, and inclosed in your Letter. And we are of opinion, that, when the good and safety of the Kingdome in generall is concerned, and the whole Kingdome in danger, your Majesty may by Writ, under your Great Seal of England, command all the Subjects of this your Kingdome, at their charge to provide and furnish such number of Ships with men, victual, munition, and for such time as your Majesty shall think fit, for the defence and safegard of the Kingdome from such perill and danger. And, that by Law your Majestie may compell the doing thereof in case of refusall or refractorinesse. And we are also of opinion, that in such case your Majesty is the sole judge both of the danger, and when, and how the same is to be prevented, and avoided.

John Bramston.

John Finch.

Humphrey Davenport.

John Denham.

Richard Hutton.

William Jones.

George Crook.

Thomas Trevor.

George Vernon.

Robert Barkly.

Francis Cranly.

Richard Weston.

These opinions being subscribed by all the Judges; and inrolled in all the Courts of Westminster Hall, the King thought he had now warrant sufficient to proceed against all defaulters, and especially against Mr. Hamden, who being summoned by proceffe, appeared and required Oyer of the Ship-writs, which being read he demurred in Law, and demanded the opinion of all the Judges upon the legall sufficiency of those Writs.

This

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This great case coming to be argued in the Exchequer, the major part of the Judges delivered their opinions in favour of the Writs, and accordingly the *Barons* gave judgement against Mr. *Hambden*; yet did not the question altogether so repose, but Mr. *Hambden* observing some Judges, *viz.* *Crook* and *Hutton* of a contrary sense, held up the contest still, though all in vain, all his inquietude not gaining him the least acquitall untill an higher power interposed.

March the 17. the Queen bare to the King a Third daughter the Lady Princeesse *Anne*.

June the 14. a Triumvirate of Libellers, Mr. *Prin*, a Barrester of *Lincolns Inne*, Dr. *Bastwick*, a Physitian, and Mr. *Burton*, a Divine, sometimes Tutor to the King, received a severe censure in the Star-chamber. The crimes, whereof the information against them consisted, were homogeneous, and all of a sute, though the men of different Professions. Mr. *Prynne* was sentenced for publishing some pamphlets scandalous both to Episcopal Government it self, and also to the Bishops; Dr. *Bastwick* for a Latine Apology *ad Prasules Anglicanos*, and a *Litany* very virulent against them; Mr. *Burton* for two pamphlets of similiary nature, and argument, and of as tart a style. For these offences the Court awarded them a smart punishment; Mr. *Prynne* felt the heaviest stroke, because he had been censured there formerly, and an additional offence deserved, they thought, an additional castigation. He was fined five thousand pounds to the King, to lose the remainder of his ears in the Pillory, to be stigmatized, or if you will, sigmatized, on both cheeks with the letter S for a Schismatick, and to be perpetually imprisoned in *Carnarvan Castle* in *Wales*. Dr. *Bastwick* and Mr. *Burton* were sentenced each five thousand pounds fine to the King, to lose their ears in the Pillory, and to be imprisoned, the first in *Lanceston Castle* in *Cornwall*, and the other in *Lancaster Castle*.

June the 26. the Prince *Elector* beginning to languish in his hopes of succour from his Unkle, departed with his Brother Prince *Rupert* for *Holland*.

The next month presents us with the recidivation, a second fall of the insolent Prelate *Williams* Bishop of *Lincoln*. His first was mentioned in the first year of this Kings Reign, which though but from one stage, yet because a fall, that is, a constrained and no spontaneous descent, he stomacht with most high indignation. That by the munificence of Royal Majesty he exchanged his wooden for a silver Mace, that from a Countrey Pedant he became in a double Relation a *Peere* of the Realme, that the in-tradoes and in comes of his Promotions enabled him to accumulate vast summes of Money, and to make acquist of large Revenues, and that of his dignities hee still retained the greatest part, these

Bishop *Williams*
sentenced in
the Star chamber.

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these things he little minded (so powerfull is with worthlesse spirits, one seeming discourtesie, to dis-oblige from the recognisance of antecedent favours, though never so, either great or many.) Thus malevolently inclined, he thought he could not gratifie beloved revenge better, then to endeavour the supplanting of his Sovereign; to which end finding him declining in the affection of his People, he made his applications to them, fomenting popular discouries tending to the Kings dishonour, so long, untill at length the incontinence of his tongue betray'd him into speeches which trespaſt upon Loyalty. For which words, they having taken a vent, he was questioned by a Bill in the *Star-chamber*, 4. *Car.* But the information being somewhat lame, as being taken up upon refracted and second-hand report, the Accusation took a nap till about 8. *Car.* when it was revived again. And the Bishops purgation depending principally upon the testimony of one *Prideon*, it happened that the *February* after, one *Elizabeth Hodson* was delivered of a base childe, and laid it to this *Prideon*. The *Bishop* finding his great witness charged with such a load of filth and infamy, conceiv'd it would in-validate all his testimony, and that once rendred invalid, the *Bishop* could easily prognosticate his own ruine; therefore he bestirs himself a main, and though by order of the Justices at the Publique Session at *Lincoln*, *Prideon* was charged as the reputed father, the *Bishop* by his two agents, *Powel* and *Owen*, procured that Order suppressed, and by subornation and menacing of, and tampering with witnesses, at length in *May* 10. *Car.* procured the child fathered upon one *Boon*, and *Prideon* acquit. These lewd practices, for the supportation of his favorites credit, cost the *Bishop*, as he confest to *Sir John Munson* and others, twelve hundred pounds, so much directly, and by consequence much more. For being accriminated in the *Star-chamber* for this corrupting of witness, and being convicted (I will not say convinced) by evident and full proof, *July* the 11, of this year, he received a most condign censure of ten thousand pounds fine to the *King*, imprisonment in the *Tower* during his *Majesties* pleasure, suspension *ab Officiis & Beneficiis*, and to be referred to the High Commission for the rest. In this state I leave him, untill the series of a few years shall render him in a better.

Nor must I leave him only, but even *England* her self almost, for now began *Scotland* to be the great scene of action, and thither must my discourse make its next transiſion. Of this and the next yeares commotions there, a true account I shall give you, though not an exact one, as to descend to every particular; that is done already as by a Royall hand, so *Stylo Imperatorio*, in a full body, and Historical systeme: from whence I shall extraſt such occurrences as are of prime remarque, and as contractedly as may be, having regard to the symmetry of the other parts of this Narration.

ration. And because the precognition of their first extraction will be necessary to the relation of those occurrences themselves, I shall there commence.

The King observing his Father had it once in design to settle in Scotland a *Liturgy*, in order to uniformity, like that of *England*, but was taken away before he could accomplish it; thought himselfe concerned to pursue his Fathers purpose: to which end he gave directions to the *Archbishop of Canterbury*, the *Bishop of Ely*, and to divers *Bishops* of that Kingdome, to revise, correct, alter and change, as they pleased, the *Liturgy* compiled in his Fathers time. This *Service-Book* so altered, and very little differing (as he was unhappily perswaded by them) from the *English*, he sent to his Councell of that Kingdome, ordering them to proclaim the reading of it upon the next *Easter day*, 1637. who upon better consideration respited it untill *July* the 23. but gave publique notice of it the Sunday before.

July the 23. being *Sunday*, the *Dean of Edenburgh* began to read the *Book* in *St. Giles Church* (the chief of that City) but he no sooner began, than the inferiour multitude began in a tumultuous manner to fill the Church with uproare, whereupon the *Bishop of Edenburgh*, stept into the pulpit, and hoping to appease them by minding them of the sanctity of the place, they were the more enraged, throwing at him cudgels, stooles, and what was in the way of fury, unto the very endangering of his life: upon this the *Archbishop of St. Andrews*, Lord Chancellor, was enforced to call down from the Gallery the *Provost*, *Bayliffs*, and other Magistrates of the City (then sitting there) to their assistance, who with much adoe at length thrust that unruly rabble out of the Church, and made fast the doores: This done, the *Dean* proceeded in reading the *Book*, the multitude in the mean while rapping at the doores, pelting the windowes with stones, and endeavouring what in them lay to disturb that Sacred exercise; but notwithstanding all their clamour, the Service was ended, but not the peoples rage, who waiting the *Bishops* retiring to his lodging, so assaulted him, as had he not been rescued by a strong hand, he had probably perisht by their violence. Nor was *Saint Giles Church* only thus pester'd, and profan'd, but in other Churches also, (though not in so high a measure) the peoples disorders were unison and agreeable. The morning thus past, the Lord *Chancellor* and Councell assembled to prevent the like darings in the afternoon, which they so effected, as the *Liturgy* was read without any disturbance: only the *Bishop of Edenburgh* was in his return to his lodging rudely treated by the people, both by execrations and other wayes, though in the *Earl of Roxboroughs Coach*.

All this time, the Magistrates of the City seemed so utterly to abhor those tumultuous proceedings, as some they apprehended,

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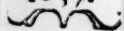
Original of
the Scottish
troubles.

Stirs about the
Liturgy.

The *Bishops*
affronced.

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Proclamations
againſt thoſe
cumuliſ.

hended, and were induſtrious to enquire out others actors therein: and whereas the Miniſters of that City craved diſpenſation from reading of the Book untill ſecurity were given for the ſafe-guard of their perſons; the Magiſtrates and Council of *Edenburgh* draw up an obligatory Act, both for indemnity of their perſons, and alſo for their ſerled maintenance.

Now the long vacation and Harveſt began to come on, and ſedition being the buſineſſe of idle men, the diſtempers began a while to ſlumber; but their corne being inned, and chiefe employments over, *Edenburgh* began to ſwarm againe to a formidable number, and the City to relax ſo far in their former earneſtneſſe for the *Service Book*, as many of them preſented a *Petiſion* to the Lords of the Council, craving the Book might be no farther preſt upon them, untill the *King* ſhould ſignifie his further pleaſure. The Council upon this, obſerving ſo great a confluence, and the City ſo diſaffected, and fearing ſome dangerous conſequence, iſſued out *Oſtober* the 17. three *Proclamations*, the firſt to *notifie the diſſolving their meeting, in relation to Church matters, and that every man forthwith repaire home to their owne dwellings, (except ſuch who ſhall ſhew juſt cauſe of their ſtay to the Lords) upon pain of Rebellion.* The ſecond, *for removing of the Seſſion the Term from Edenburgh to Lithgow.* And the third, *for calling in and burning a ſeditious Book, entituled A Diſpute againſt the Engliſh Popiſh Ceremonies, obtruded upon the Kirk of Scotland.* Theſe Proclamations were not water, but rather fuel to the flame. For the next day the Biſhop of *Galloway* being to ſit with the Lord Chief Juſtice upon ſome eſpecial buſineſſe in the Council houſe, he was purſued all along the ſtreet with bitter raylings to the very Council door, and being drawn in from the rage of the people, they immediately beſet the houſe, demanding the delivery of him, threatening his deſtruction. The Earl of *Traquair* being advertiſed of the Biſhops danger, came preſently to his relief; and, with much adoe, forced an entrance through the preſſe of the Murineers. But being got in, he was in no better plight than the Biſhop, the clamour encreasing ſtill more and more, and encompassing the Councell-houſe with terrible menaces. Hereupon the Lord *Provoſt* and City-Councell was called upon to raiſe the ſiege; but they returned answer, that their condition was the ſame, for they were ſurrounded with the like multitude, who had enforced them, for fear of their lives, to ſigne a Paper importing, Firſt, *That they ſhould adhere to them in oppoſition to the Service-Book.* Secondly, *Reſtore to their places Mr. Ramſey, and Mr. Rollock, two ſilenced Miniſters, and one Henderſon a ſilenced Reader.* No better answer being returned, the Lord *Treaſurer*, with the Earl of *Wigton*, went in perſon to the Town Councell-houſe, where they found the heat of the fury ſomewhat abated, becauſe the Magiſtrates

gistrates had signed the Paper, and returned with some hope that the Magistrates would calme the disorders about the Councell-house, so as the Bishop might be preserved; but they no sooner presented themselves to the great street, then they were most boisterously assaulted, the throng being so furious, as they pulled downe the *Lord Treasurer*, took away his hat, cloak, and white-wand, and so haled him to the Councell-house. The *Lords* seeing themselves in so great hazard, at length pitcht upon the best expedient for their safety, and sent to some of the *Noble men* and *Gentry*, who were disaffected to the *Service-Book*, to come to their aide. These *Lords* and *Gentlemen* came, as was desired, and offered both their *Persons* and *Power* to protect them; which the *Lords* in the *Councell-house* readily embraced, and so were quietly guarded to *Holy rood house*, and the Bishop to his lodging.

The *Lords* of the *Councell* now thinking themselves secure, that very afternoon commanded a *Proclamation* to be made at the Crosse of *Edenburgh*, for the repressing such disorders for the time to come; but slender obedience was yielded thereunto; for the *Citizens* sent *Commissioners* to the *Councell Table*, demanding the restauration of their *Ministers*, and performance of what was promised before their *Pacification*: and not long after the *Councell* was boarded with a *Petition*, not of a rude multitude, but of *Noble men*, *Barons*, *Ministers*, *Burgesses* and *Commons*, against the *Liturgie* and *Canons*. This *Petition* was sent to the *King*, who, displeased with the contents thereof, gave instructions for adjourning the Terme to *Sterling*, twenty foure miles from *Edenburgh*, that so the former confluence might be precluded, and also for publishing a *Proclamation* interdicting upon the highest penalty, such tumultuous resorts. Upon the very day, being *February 19.* and immediately after the reading of this *Proclamation* at *Edenburgh*, the *Earle of Hume*, and the *Lord Lindsey*, with some others, caused their *Protestation* against it to be read; and agreeable to their *Protestation*, in despite of the *Kings Proclamation*, erected four *Tables*, one of the *Nobility*, another of the *Gentry*, a third of the *Burroughs*, a fourth of the *Ministers*; these foure were to prepare and digest what was to be propounded at the *Generall Table*, formed of severall *Commissioners* chosen from the rest.

The first-borne and eldest brat of this *Generall Table*, was a renewing the antient *Confession of Faith*, of that *Kirk*, (for the Devill himselfe, is never himselfe, but when he becomes a seeming Saint) and entring a *Generall Covenant*, pretended to preserve their *Religion* there profest, and the *Kings Person*, but aiming in truth at the destruction of both. The *Councell*, upon the first publication of this combination, sent a dispatch to the *King* by

An. Christi
1637.

Earl of Trs-
quair assaulted.

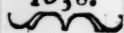
Another Pro-
clamation.

The Scots Pe-
tition against
the Liturgie.

1638.

Enter into a
Solemn Cove-
nant.

An. Christi
1638.



Sir *John Hamilton*, to advertise him thereof; the *King* animadverted every prevarication from the ancient mode, and wondred at their unparallel'd impudence, to prefix a title so self-destructive; for they had contrived it thus,

The Confession of Faith subscribed at first, by the Kings Majesty and his Household, in the yeare of God 1580. Thereafter by persons of all rankes, in the yeare 1581. by Ordinance of the Lords of the Secret Councell, and Acts of the Generall Assembly. Subscribed againe, by all sorts of persons in the yeare 1590. by a new Ordinance of Councell, at the desire of the General Assembly; with a Generall Band for the maintenance of the true Religion, and the Kings Person; And now subscribed in the yeare 1638. by us Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commons, under=scribing.

From hence the *King* observed, that in the three first subscriptions, either his *Fathers* own act is exprest, or an *Ordinance of the Lords of the secret Councell*, which is equivalent to *Regall Authority*, was obtained, and at the desire of the *Generall Assembly*; whereas in the last, neither was his *Own*, nor his delegated *Authority* to his *Councel* implored, nor was there any *Generall Assembly* to entreat it. So that the exacting of a *Publique Oath*, which could not legally be done without the highest authority, was actually done without the least shadow of it.

Again, in the frame of the *Covenant* he noted a difference of dangerous consequence, from former precedents; for whereas preceding *Bands* annex to *Confessions*, were formed in *Defence* of *Himselfe*, his *Authority* and *Person*, this new edition hath a Combination against all persons whatsoever, not *Himselfe* excepted.

The *King* nothing pleased with these affronts, yet studious to compose these surges of discontent, sent the *Marquesse of Hamilton* down in the quality of an *High Commissioner*, impowering him with a *Commission* to use the utmost of his *Interest* and *Power* for the settling of peace.

June the 6. his *Commission* was read and accepted by him at *Dalkeith*, where though he abode many dayes, and it was but four miles distant from *Edenburgh*, yet would not the *Covenanters* take any notice of his being there, nor make any addresse to him: and the better to colour their sleight, they pretended

Differing from
former prece-
dents.

Marquesse
Hamilton
sent Commis-
sioner into
Scotland.

Is slighted.

The Reign of King Charles.

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tended there was a dangerous plot to blow them up with Gunpowder, which with some small quantity of ammunition, intended for the service of the Castle of Edenburgh, had been there disembarqued a few dayes before.

Not long after the *Marquesse* at the earnest solicitation and supplication of the City of *Edenburgh*, and upon assurance of that Cities good behaviour, and quiet deportment, removed from *Dalkeith* to *Holy-rood* house, where he fell presently into Communication with the *Covenanters*. First, what they expected from the King in satisfaction to their grievances. Next, what assurance they would give of their returning to due obedience, and renunciation of the *Covenant*. To the first they replied, that nothing but a *Generall Assembly* and a *Parliament* could give them satisfaction. To the second they answered, that they disavowed any retreat from their Loyalty, and therefore needed no returne towards it. And for the *Covenant*, That they would sooner renounce their Baptism then it, And that this was a proposition they would never endure to heare a secondtime: which they took speedy care to prevent, for they resented it with so much wrath, as they doubled their *Guards* both upon the Castle and City: whereupon, the *Marquesse* in order to his safety, returned to *Dalkeith*, and sent to the King for new instructions, to which his Majesties answer was, that he would have him forthwith publish by *Proclamation* his Declaration, wherein he assured that *Kingdome* of his constancy in the *Protestant Religion*; that he would never further presse nor urge the practise of the *Canons*, and *Service-Book*, but in a faire and legall way, and had given Order for the discharge of all *Acts* of *Councell* concerning them; And that he had taken into consideration the inditing of a *Generall Assembly* and *Parliament*, wherein might be agitated what should most concerne the peace and welfare of the *Kirk* and *Kingdome*. Whereupon he expected that those his subjects, sensible of his gracious favour, would give testimoniall of their future loyalty, and no further provoke him to make use of that power which God had given him, for the reclaiming disobedient people.

This *Proclamation* was no sooner ended, but the *Covenanters* were ready with a traversing *Protest* against it, wherein they seemed highly to distaste, to have their actions branded with the notion of disobedience: and declared, that they would never abandon their *Covenant* upon such suggestions, and that they would not wait the Kings conveniency for calling of an *Assembly*; but if he did not approve of their proceedings, they would call a *Generall Assembly* themselves.

The *Marquesse* finding them still thus obstinate, told them that the stock of his instructions was spent, and that he must resort to *England* for a fresh supply, thereupon they acquainted him,

An. Christi
1638.

Comes to *Edenburgh*.

The *Covenanters* demand a general Assembly and Parliament.

Double their guards.

The King yeelds to their desires.

The *Covenanters* obinate.

The *Marquesse* returns into *England*.

An. Christi
1638.

And again in-
to Scotland.

Proposals con-
cerning the
Assembly:

that they expected his Majesties answer, and his returne upon the 5. of *August* next at the furthest, they promising in the interim to continue in a peaceable condition, nor to act any thing untill his returne.

The *Marquesse* coming into *England*, and making known to the *King* the state of his affaires in *Scotland*, he dispatcht him away with new orders, so as he might be there at the time prefixed.

The *Marquesse* upon his returne, found a strange rumour spread abroad, as if he were well satisfied with, and did approve of their *Covenant*, so as to vindicate his owne reputation, he was compelled to call in aide of the *Lords* of the *Councell*, and others of the *Nobility* to be his compurgators. This aspersion being (as he thought) sufficiently wiped off, he presently falls upon conference with the *Covenanters* about the indicting of the *Assembly*, demanding first, to know of what Members it should be constituted, and of what matters it should treat: whereat they flew out into an extreme rage, giving out, that these *Propositions* were destructive to their *Liberties*, and a prelimitation of that *Assembly*, which ought to be free, and told the *Marquesse*, that the *Assembly* it selfe should be Judge, both of their owne Members, and of the matters whereof it should take cognisance.

These things put the *Commissioner* to a plunge, and made him explicite declare his instructions, which were to indict an *Assembly*, but upon concession of these ten *Articles*.

1. That all Ministers deposed or suspended by Presbyteries since the first of February last, without warrant of the Ordinary, should be restored till they were legally convicted.

2. That all Moderators of Presbyteries deposed, since that time without such warrant, be restored, and all others chosen in their stead, to desist from acting as Moderators.

3. That no Minister, admitted since that time without such warrant, shall exercise the Function of the Ministry.

4. That all Parishioners repaire to their owne Church, and that Elders assist the Ministers in the Discipline of the Church.

5. That all Bishops and Ministers have their rents and stipends duly paid them.

6. That

6. That all Ministers attend their owne Churches, and none come to the Assembly, but such as shall be chosen Commissioners from the Presbyteries.

7. That every Moderator be appointed to be a Commissioner from that Presbyterie, whereof he is a Moderator, according to the Act of the Assembly, 1606.

8. That Bishops, and others, who shall attend the Assembly, be secured in their persons from all trouble.

9. That no Lay person meddle in the choice of Commissioners from Presbyteries.

10. That all Convocations and meetings be dissolved, and that the Countrey be reduced to a peaceable posture.

These Articles would no way be condescended to, and the main answer to them was, an appeal to the Generall Assembly, where they were properly to be decided. Upon this refusall the Commissioner entertained a resolution of another journey, which the Covenanters understanding, they bruited abroad among their adherents, that he neither had power from the King, nor any inclination in himself to give the people any satisfaction: which seemingly so incensed him, that he contracted all his former Propositions into these two,

1. If the Lords and the rest will undertake for themselves, and the rest, that no Laiques shall have votes in choosing the Ministers to be sent from the severall Presbyteries to the Generall Assembly, nor none else but the Ministers of the same Presbyterie.

2. If they will undertake that the Assembly shall not goe about to determine of things established by Act of Parliament, otherwayes then by remonstrance to the Parliament, leaving the determining of things Ecclesiasticall to the generall Assembly; and things settled by Acts of Parliament to the Parliament.

Then I will presently indict a Generall Assembly, and promise, upon mine Honour, immediately after to call a Parliament.

These propositions put the Covenanters into such a fit of choller, as they presently gave order for a Generall Assembly, but when the fit was off, and they began to cool, upon second thoughts they con-

Contracted
into two.

An. Christi
1638.

Hamilton
goes for Eng-
land.

And returneth

The Kings
gracious De-
claration.

Protested a-
gainst.

conceived it meet to forbear, untill the Commissioner should return from the King, with a more pleasing answer, for which they limited him to the 21. of September next; promising, in the interim, not to proceed to Election.

The Commissioner posting to the King found him at *Oslands*, where entering into consultation of the matter with his Privy Counsellors then present, and pursuing the advice of his Council in *Scotland*, resolved, as he thought, upon a way which would not leave any remnants of discontent, and sent back the *Marquesse* with ample instructions agreeable to it, who returned within his time limited, but found the *Covenanters* had given order for an Election to be on the 22. of September, the very next day after that prefixt; this the Commissioner interpreted to be a kinde of equivocation, but would take no notice of it, but according to his instruction on that 22. of September, assembling the Council, delivered them a letter from the King, acquainting them with what course he meant to pursue for the benefit of that Kirk and State. Then he appointed the Kings Declaration to be read: wherein he nulled the *Service-Book*, the *Book of Canons*, the *High Commission*, discharged the pressing of the five Articles of *Perth*, Ordered that all persons whatsoever, Ecclesiastical or Civil, should be lyable to censure of *Parliament*, and *Generall Assembly*. That no other Oath be administred to Ministers at their entry, but what was contained in the Act of Parliament. That the ancient Confession of Faith, and Band thereunto annexed, should be subscribed and renewed, as it was in his Fathers time. That a *Generall Assembly* be holden at *Glasgow*, November the 21. 1638. and a *Parliament* at *Edenburgh* the 15. of May, 1639. Wherein he pardoned all by-gone offences, and indicted a *Generall Fast*.

Immediately after this Declaration published, the Confession of Faith was read, and subscribed by the *Marquesse*, and the *Lords* of the Council. Then a Proclamation for the *General Assembly*, next another for the Parliament. And lastly, were proclaimed an Act of the Lords of the Council, requiring a general subscription of the Confession of Faith, and a Commission directed to divers for taking the subscription.

These Acts of Regal authority being past; the *Covenanters*, after their usual mode, brought up the rear with a Protest, wherein they moved the People to consider with whom they were to deal, and mightily decry'd the new subscription to the confession of Faith, excepted against the Archbishops and Bishops, as not to have any votes in the Assembly.

This done, they proceeded to election of Commissioners for the Assembly, and first issued Orders from their Table, That every *Parish* should send to the *Presbytery* of their limit one Lay man, whom they

they called a Ruling Elder, who should have equal vote with the Minister in the Presbytery. Then they stept on, and moved the Commissioner, that he would grant out Warrants of citation against the Archbishops and Bishops to appear at the Assembly, as *Rei*, or guilty persons; which he refusing, they presently framed a *Bill* of complaint against them, charging them with many mis-demeanours. This *Bill* was presented to the *Presbytery* of *Edenburgh*, which *October* the 24. thereupon warn'd them all to compeer at the next *Generall Assembly* to be holden at *Glasgow*, *Novemb:* 21.

The day of the Assembly being come, the *Marquesse* his Commission was read in the afternoon, and nothing else done considerably that day. The next day a *Declinator* and *Protestation* was presented to the Commissioner, in the name of the Archbishops and Bishops, against the Assembly, and containing a Nullity of it. But it was denied to be read, whereupon the Commissioner entred a *Protestation* against the refusall of it, and took instruments thereupon. The main cause of this refusall, was pretended to be, because nothing could be done, untill the Moderator were chosen, which was the next work: but when he was elected, and the Commissioner offered again the *Declinator* to be read, then they reply'd, that the Assembly must first be fully constituted. After this they proceeded to debate of the Elections, which they did with so cautelous a scrutiny, as they left no man standing in the quality of a Commissioner, who was not clearly agreeable to their minde. Though the admission of *Lay-Elders*, past not without some high contest. Many places (even the *Presbytery* of *Glasgow* for one) protesting against the legality of their *Session*; which was also the deeper resented by the Commissioner, because the King having nominated six *Lords* of his Privy Council to be Assessors to his Commissioner in that Assembly, they absolutely refused to entertain them, or allow their suffrage, affirming withall, that were the King himself present, he should have but one vote, and that no negative one neither.

The Commissioner concluding from these premises, that no good was like to be done by continuing the Assembly longer, *November* the 28. consulted with the Council about its dissolution, and it being agreed in the affirmative, he went to the Assembly, and told them,

You are now about to settle the lawfulnessse of this Judicature, and the competency of it against Bishops, neither of which I can allow; I am glad I have seen this Assembly met, a thing which was supposed his Majesty never intended, and for the further clearing the integrity of his intentions, let this Paper which I deliver to the Clerk to be read bear witnessse.

Z

The

An. Christi
1638.

Bishops Pro-
test against
the Assembly

An. Christi
1638.

The General
Assembly dis-
solved.

Argile declares
for the Cove-
nanters.

Covenanters
begin to arm.

The rise and
growth of
Presbytery.

The paper being read by the *Clerk*, was a *Declaration*, the same in every substantiall point with the *Proclamation*, discharging the *Service-Book*, *Book of Canons*, &c. This *Declaration* soon after the reading, was signed by the *Commissioner*, and required to be entered into the Books of the *Assembly*; provided that this *Act* of Registring this *Declaration*, should be no approbation of the lawfulness of this *Assembly*, to the dissolution whereof he was next to proceed, and therefore *protested*, that whatsoever should be done or said in it, should not be obligatory, or be reputed an *Act* of a *Generall Assembly*. The very night of the dissolution of this *Assembly*, the *Commissioner* assembled the *Council* to draw up a *Proclamation* for dissolving it, which being resolved upon, was subscribed by all, but the Earl of *Argile*, who began now to shew himself for the *Covenanters*.

The *Proclamation* being formed, and published, Nov. 29. was encountered with a *Protestation* of the *Covenanters*, That it is lawful for them to sit still, and continue the *Assembly*, and that they would still adhere to all their former *Protestations*; and accordingly pursuing the tenor of their *Protestation*, presently declared six former *Generall Assemblies*, (which they thought would dis-serve them) to be null, deprived all the *Bishops*, and some they excommunicated, and soon after abolished *Episcopacy* it self as inconsistent with the lawes of that Church; And the *Commissioner* being returned in discontent for *England*, began might and main to levy *Souldiers*, to impose taxes, to raise fortifications, to block up some and seize others of the *Kings Castles*, and to prepare for Warre.

Now because this Warre was the *Epoche*, the *Nativity* day from whence all the series of this *Kings* troubles are to be computed, and all for the advancement of *Presbytery*, it may perhaps give satisfaction to some if I deliver the first rise, the motions, the processes thereof, and how it contracted such power within this Isle.

It was this year an exact *Century* since *Calvin* first set his foot into *Geneva*, where the *Bishop* being expelled, necessary it was some other Government should be succenturiated instead of the former. *Calvin* being of high esteeme there, the contrivance thereof was committed to his care. He observing the Town *Democraticall* in the *Civill*, thought an *Ecclesiasticall State* elemented of respondent principles, would sure best: upon which consideration he formed a *Consistory* of *Elders*, whereof a great part were Lay. And these were to manage all *Ecclesiasticall* concerns. Famous was he for this new-moddell, no lesse then *Columbus* for his *America*, nor was it enough it was reputed a prudent institution, it must also be entituled to *Divine*, and Sacred Scripture tortured to declare as much. Most kind reception it found with the *Gallican*, and *Belgique Churches*. Where planted and settled, the next designe was to dispatch it

it over into *Great Britain*: to which effect *Beza* writes a complying Epistle Commendatory to Queen *Elizabeth*, presenting this *Geneva* Plat-form, as the onely *desideratum* wanting to *Englands* Reformation. The *Queen* was loath to proscribe so long a standard as *Episcopacy*, to entertaine such an upstart in mate as *Presbytery*, therefore gave *Beza* his saying, but not his desire; this was *Anno* 1560. And shortly after, not onely *She*, but the whole *Parliament* (whereof some members began now to incline to the *Disciplinarian* Sect) were summoned againe by *Libels*, called an *Admonition to the Parliament*, and *Defence of that Admonition*, to the Abolition of *Episcopacy* as Antichristian. But all this notwithstanding, both *She* and her *Pan-Anglium*, or great Councel, stood fixt and inexorable, so that all the efforts and attempts of the other party, could not produce any considerable unsettlement of that ancient discipline. In *Scotland* true it is, the new-projected modell prospered better, for the Earl of *Murray*, or rather the *Prior* of *Saint Andrewes* (base brother to the *Queen*) with his complices, *Knox*, *Buchannan*, and others in their first Reformation, about *An.* 1560. gave so terrible a shock to Popery, as made every thing, and by consequence *Episcopacy* which stood neer it, to reel. Which nevertheless held them rug a skore of yeares; nor could they supplant it all at once, but gained upon it by degrees. First an Assembly at *Dundee*, *Anno* 1580. Ordered all *Bishops* upon pain of *Excommunication*, to resigne up their Offices; and about three yeares after, prevailed with the *Parliament*, (the *King* being then in *Minority*) to annex their *Temporalties* to the *Crown*. Though this was acted in *Scotland*, yet was it not without instigation from *England*, and from some of her prime Nobility, animated by some Ministers who began to be now so pragmatical and busie, as to preserve Ecclesiasticall unity, the then Archbishop *Whitgift* by command from the *Queen*, that very yeare contrived those three eminent Articles in the late *Canons*, whereto all who desired to enter into sacred Orders were strictly enjoyned subscription, The first acknowledging the *Queens* Supremacie. The second, professing conformity to the *Book of Common-prayer*, and approbation of the *Booke of ordering of Bishops, Priests and Deacons*. And the third, assenting to the thirty nine Articles of the Church of *England*. Nor was the Hierarchy thus quite outed in *Scotland*, but somewhat revived again by the *Parliament*, ratifying the Clergy as the third Estate, *Anno* 1584. But the other party being resolved never to acquiesce, untill they obtained their mindes, grew so impetuous, as they, I cannot say perswaded, but even forced that State, *Anno* 1591. to ratifie their Discipline. Thus did *Episcopacy* and *Presbytery* play *Leve le quewe*, and take their turnes of Government for about thirty yeares; but in the yeare 1598. *King James*, the

An. Christi
1638.

An. Christi
1638.

The Queen
Mother of
France comes
into England.

Queen of England now declining, hoping his wardship to these hot spirits began now to expire, took up resolutions of animosity, and caused the Prelates to be restored to their antient vote in Parliament, and published his Book called *Basil. Doron*, expressing therein no great good will to the *Consistorian Sect*. And though An. 1603. upon his first accession to the *English Crown*, he was saluted here with a Petition, pretended of a thousand Ministers, that they might appear the more formidable, yet did he slight their boldnesse, and in *Scotland*, by several *Acts of Parliament*, rescinded what had formerly been introduced to the prejudice of *Episcopacy*, so that from 1589. until this present, the *Presbyters* durst never appear in opposition.

October the last, *Mary de Medicis*, the Queen Mother of *France* came to *London*, and so to *Saint James*. The people were generally male-content at her coming, and wisht her farther off. For they did not like her traine and followers, which had often been observed to be the Sword, or Pestilence, so that she was beheld as some meteor of ill signification. Nor was one of these calamities thought more the effect of her fortune, then inclination, for her restless and uncessant spirit was prone to embroyle all where-soever she came. Her impetuous banding and combining with *Monsieur* the Duke of *Orleans*, and the improsperity of that enterprise made *France* too hot for her, and drave her in the yeare 1631. to *Bruxels*, where the Cardinall *D' Infanta* treated her a while with most honourable caresses and respects, but *Flanders* which at first seemed her place of Refuge, became afterward her greatest danger, she being (as her owne *Manifesto* sets forth) so hunted and pursued with continuall imprecations and curses there, as she began to fear some violence to her Person, so that quitting that Countrey, she betook her self to the protection of the Prince of *Orange*, 1637. This Prince treated her with greater civility then satisfaction to her discomposd minde, which now began to be vehemently bent for *England*, onely she waited for an Invitation from her Daughter, and Nature obliging to no lesse, she soon obtained it. But these resolves were no whit pleasing to our King, who easily presaged some sad event would ensue. He saw Her both Person and Religion under an *Universall Prejudice*, that Her coming would raise constructions amongst a People already male-content, little in favour of his affaires. He saw she was a Queen, consequently as a Queen must be entertained, which would prove a costly businesse, and such cost, he thought, might cost him dear, in such a time when the *Scottish* insolencies prompted him to saving, if he would be safe. Upon these considerations, dispatch upon dispatch was sent to Sir *William Boswell*, then resident in the *Low-Countries*, secretly enjoining him to use the most potent arguments & artifice he possibly could to divert her. But all his dissuasions did small execution upon her fixt determinations, so that crosse she would.

The

The Reign of King Charles.

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An. Christi

1638.

The King
raisseth an Ar-
my.

Goeth against
the Scots.

The King perceiving the Scots meditated nothing but Warre, thought it slender policy to strain courtesie with them, and to yeeld them the start, therefore by the advice of the Arch-bishop hastned the levies both of men and monies, with all possible expedition; and because it was the *Bishops Warre*, he thought it requisite they should contribute largely towards the preservation of their owne *Hierarchy*; and accordingly Orders were issued from the Lords of the Council to the Arch-bishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, commanding them to send forth directions to all the Bishops within their Provinces, to convene the Clergy of their *Dioceses*, and to invite them to a liberal aid. What the precise product of the Clergy offerings was, is not materiall to insert, nor could my information reach it, onely it is presumable it was very ample, so as with that and the spontaneous contributions of divers of the Nobility and Gentry, the King had amast together a considerable power; whereof the Earl of *Arundel* had the chiefe conduct: with this strength the King, *March* the 27. the day of his Inauguration, marched against the Scots, and *May* the 28. encamped within two miles of *Barnwick*, and within view of the Enemy who were ready to receive him. But all the preparation both of one side and the other, proved onely an interview of two Armies, nothing being acted considerable in way of engagement; for after some few dayes attendance each upon other in that quiet posture, an Overture came from the Scots of their supplication, that the King would appoint Commissioners to treat about a *Pacification*. The King most cheerfully embraced the motion, and nominated the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Holland*, and *Barkshire*, *Sir Henry Vane*, and Secretary *Goke*: to these were joyned on the *Covenanters* part, the Earls of *Roths*, of *Dunfermlin*, the Lord *London*, the Lord *Douglas*, *Alexander Henderson*, and *Archibald Johnstoun*. These having had many severall debates, at length *June* the 17. concluded upon a *Pacification* distributed into these Articles,

On the Kings part,

1. His Majesty to confirme what his Commissioner promised in his Name.

2. That a Generall Assembly be indicted, to be kept at *Edenburgh*, *August* the 6.

That command be given for a Parliament to be holden at *Edenburgh*, *August* the 20.

That he recall all his Forces by Land or Sea, and restore all Ships and goods arrested and detained, since the pretended Assembly at *Glasgow*, upon the

A Pacification.

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Covenanters disarming, and disbanding of their Forces, dissolving their Tables, and restoring to the King all his Castles, Forts, and Ammunition, and releasing all the persons, lands and goods then under restraint, or detained since the pretended Assembly of Glasgow. *This his Majesty to doe by Declaration.*

On the Covenanters part,

1. The Forces of Scotland to be disbanded within forty eight houres after publication of the Kings Declaration.
2. They to render up, after the said Publication, all Castles, Forts, Ammunition of all sorts, so soon as the King shall send to receive them.
3. They to hold no meetings, treatings, nor consultations, but such as are warranted by Act of Parliament.
4. They to desist from all Fortifications, and those to be remitted to the Kings pleasure.
5. They to restore to all the Kings Subjects, their liberties, lands, houses, goods, and meanes taken or detained from them, since the 1. of February last.

June the 18. the King signed his Declaration, and the Covenanters their Articles: This pacification did at first generally excite exceeding great tokens of joy, wherein none had more reason to be sincere then poor *Aberden*, for the Earl of *Montrose*, Generall of the Covenanters, was that very time marching towards that *University*, with a Commission to consume it by fire to ashes, upon suggestion that the Inhabitants had falsified their Oathes.

The Declaration and Articles being signed, and affaires carrying so calme a front of peace, the King had intentions of being present at the Generall Assembly; but this lucid intervall proved but a weather-breeder, and the apprehensions of a *Pacification* were soon transformed into an opinion, that they were but dreames, inward hostility appearing through the diaphanous body of all the Scots actions.

For the Declaration was no sooner published, but at that very houre the Covenanters produced a *Protestation*; First, of adhering to their late *Generall Assembly* at *Glasgow*, as a full and free Assembly of their *Kirk*, and to all the proceedings there, especially to the sentenes of deprivation and excommunication of the sometimes pretended Bishops of that Kingdome. Secondly, of adhering to their solemn *Covenant*, and Declaration of the Assembly,

The Covenanters still refractory.

bly, whereby the Office of Bishops is abjured. Thirdly, that no members of the Colledge of Justice shall attend the Session, (or Term) and if they doe, all their Acts and Sentences shall be void and ineffectual.

Nor did they punctually performe any one *Article*: For they still kept their Officers in constant pay; they did not sleight their Fortification at *Leith*, distant a mile from *Edenburgh*; they still continued their meetings and consultations; they still disquieted, molested, and frighted all of different inclinations. And which was worst of all, they dispersed a scandalous Libel, entituled, *Some conditions of his Majesties Treaty with his Subjects of Scotland, before the English Nobility, are set down here for remembrance*: what these conditions were, I never could learn, but they being delivered into the hands of the *English Nobility*, whereof some had been Commissioners, they disavowed any such consent of his Majesty in their hearing, and by an Act of Council the *papers* were appointed to be burnt by the Hangman.

Matters being in this doubtfull posture, the King had little minde to see himselfe affronted, and thought these distempered disorders would be better born at a distance; therefore waving his former determination of being present at the *General Assembly*, towards the latter end of *July*, he plyes him home to *England*. *August* the 6. according to the Kings indiction, the *Assembly* met and sat at *Edenburgh*, and continued untill the 24. The great transactions of this *Assembly* was the abolishing of *Episcopacy*, the five *Articles* of *Perth*, the *High Commission*, the *Liturgy*, and *Book of Canons*, all these assented to by the *Commissioner*, the *Earl of Traquair*.

The *Assembly* now risen, the *Parliament* being prorogued to *August* the last convened. The first four dayes produced an high debate about chusing the *Lords* of the *Articles*, in regard *Episcopacy* was abolished. What these *Lords* of the *Articles* were, and for what reason so denominated, it will be necessary here to explain, a thing not done elsewhere in any other Author, for illustration is the life of *History*. The ancient usage was constantly this. The King first named eight *Bishops*; then those *Bishops* chose eight *Noblemen*; those *Noblemen* chose so many *Barons*; and these the like number of *Burgesses*. These thirty two, with eight Officers of the Crown, made up a compleat *Committee* of forty, who were to consider upon such *Articles* and *Propositions*, as being presented to them by the *Clerk Register*, were to be voted in *Parliament*, and this *Committee* were called *Lords* of the *Articles*. Now the Kings *Commissioner* demanded, that seeing the King antiently had the nomination of eight *Bishops*, his Majesty might not be prejudiced in his right by their expulsion, but that he might have the choice of the eight *Noblemen*: which the *Parliament* yeilded to for this once, but voted for the future, every State should chuse their own *Commissioners*.

Then

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1639.

The generall
assembly meet.

Episcopacy a-
bolished.

The Parlia-
ment assemble.

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1639.

Incroach
upon the Pre-
rogative.

Is prorogued.

Then they entred into consideration of constituting the *Third Estate*, and what supplement should be resolved upon in the lieu of *Bishops*; the *King* urged the having of fourteen laicks, of such as were called *Abbats* and *Priors*, to represent the third *Estate*; but the *Parliament* voted, That *Estate* should be compleated by small *Barons*, who represented the *Comminality*. Next they fell upon forming an *A& Rescissory*, whereby former *A&ts* concerning the *Judicatory* of the *Exchequer*, concerning *Proxies*, and concerning confirmation of *Ward-lands* should be nulled.

The *King* finding such pertinacity of endeavours, not to reform abuses; but to new-modell a *Government*, and totally to eclipse his *Regall* power, gave speedy Order to his *Commissioner*, the *Earl of Traquair*, to prorogate the *Parliament* untill the 2. of *June* next: which command being signified by the *Commissioner* to the *Parliament*, they presently entred into a *Declaration*, wherein they positively affirmed, that this *Prerogation* was in-effectuall in *Law*, and of no force, it being made without consent of *Parliament*; that they might justifie their sitting still, yet out of their reverend regard to his *Majesty*, they were resolved for the present onely to make remonstrance to him, of the reasons of their propositions, and proceedings in this *Parliament*; and that if it should happen, that after their Remonstrance, their Enemies should prevaile by false suggestions against their Informations, that then it should not be so them an imputation, that they were constrained to take such course as might best secure the *Kirk* and *Kingdome*, from the extremity of confusion and misery.

After, and as a consequent of this *Declaration*, they sent their *Deputies* the *Earle of Dumfermlin*, and the *Lord Loudon*, to present their Remonstrance. When the *Commissioner* came to the *Court* to make report of the proceedings of that *Parliament*, and the *King* appointed a select *Committee* of his *Council*, to heare both the one and the other; many very fierce and fiery recriminations there were counter-changed between the *Commissioner* and *Deputies*. But the *Deputies* insisted not at all upon qualification, but direct justification of all the *Assemblies* and *Parliaments* transactions, so farre as they desired ratification of their constitutions; which the *Committee* thought could not be granted without lessening the *Sovereign* Authority; and then concluded that the *Covenanters* were no way reducible but by force. Thus stood matters between the *King* and them about the beginning of *December*.

And now it is high time for me to change my quarters, and for a while to visit *England*, and to survey the most noble parcels of occurrences there.

About the latter end of *July*, the *Prince Elector* arrived here, into whose ensuing mis-fortunes I shall introduce you by the narrative

The Prince
Elector his ill
successe.

rative of a late by-past adventure hitherto suppress, through the interposition of the *Scotish* troubles. The *Prince*, with his Brother *Rupert*, had the last yeare gathered together in *Holland* a considerable beginning of an Army, with these they advanced into *Westphalia*, and sat down before *Lemgea*; whereot *Hatzfeld*, General of the Imperialists, having notice, came speedily upon them, enforced them both to rise, and fight, and in the encounter slew two thousand of the *Paltzgraves* party, took Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Craven* Prisoners, the *Prince Elector* very narrowly escaping. The *Prince* thus despoyled even of his very hopes, indulged himselfe for the present, a totall repose of all designs tending towards his restauration. Now it fortuning that the last moneth Duke *Barnard* (that Heroique Commander) dyed, the *Prince of Orange* advised this *Prince* to resort to his *Uncle* the *King of England* for his assistance, and therewith to enter upon the head of *Duke Barnards* Army. But the *King* told him his home-affaires were in that doubtfull condition, as he feared they might require all the force he could command, but in regard the *French* Ambassador was then here, he promised to use the utmost of his interest with that *King* for his re-investing, and accordingly told the Ambassador, that he advised his *Nephew* to apply himselfe to his *Master*, and to joyn in League with him, and assured him what assistance he could spare. The *Ambassador* seemed to be very well pleased with the offer, and perswaded his *Majesty*, that the Cardinal *Richelieu*, who was the grand director of all the *French* Councils, would be glad to serve his *Majesty* or his *Nephew*, and presently dispatcht letters of intimation to the *Cardinall*. But in the interim of this Treaty, in *November* the *Prince* was most unadvisedly advised to passe through *France* in a disguise, and so to come clandestinely to the *Swedish* Army: But the plot was not so closely carried, but he was more then once discovered; for when he passed by the *Kings* Fleet at the *Downes*, he was saluted with a volly of shot, and the Ship which landed him at *Boullen* discharged all her Ordnance; from *Boullen* he went to *Paris*, and so to *Lions*, where meeting with the Gentleman who was sent from the *Ambassador*, he was discovered, and he denying himselfe, arrested. This the *King of France* took as an argument of no fair intentions towards him, and as an unhandsome act, especially in a time of Treaty, so that he was kept a great while in the nature of a *Prisoner*, with a strict guard both of *Horse* and *Foot* about him.

But the grand businesse of this Summer, was a terrible encounter between the two *Fleets* of *Spain* and *Holland* in the *Downs*. The relation whereof from Sir *John Pennington* was as followeth.

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1639.

Engagement
between the
Spaniards and
the Hollanders
in the Downes.

The *Spanish Fleet* consisting of neer seventy sail, bound and designed for *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, with a recrute both of men and money, met with the *Vice-Admiral* of the *Holland Fleet*, having in his company seventeen rall Ships, *September* the 7. and entred a very fierce dispute between them, untill the *Hollander* perceiving himself too weak, got to the wind-ward, sailing along with them towards *Dunkirke*, continually fiering their Ordnance to give warning to their *Admirall*, who lay before *Dunkirk* with the residue of the *Fleet*; in this encounter the *Hollander* had two Ships sunke: the next morning by two of the clock, the *Admirall* came up, and joyning with the *Vice-Admirall*, between *Dover* and *Calais*, they set upon the *Spaniard*, and continued a very sharp fight till past noon, wherein thay had much the better, having taken two *Gallions*, sunk another, and much shattered the rest, though they were but twenty five saile, to the *Spaniards* sixty and upwards, and at length forced them upon the *English* coast neer *Dover*; where they left them, and bare off for the coast of *France*, not willing to attempt any thing against them within the *King of Englands* liberties.

The *Spaniards* being now got, as they thought, under the lee of *Englands* protection, began to plot how to get rid of their bad neighbours. And the *Spanish Resident* importuned the *King*, that he would keep the *Hollander* in subjection two tydes, that in the interim they might have the opportunity of shipping away for *Spain*; but the *King* being in amity with them both, was resolved to stand neuter, and whereas the *Spaniards* had hired some *English* Ships to transport their Soldiers to *Dunkirk*, the *King* upon complaint of the *Dutch Embassador*, strictly commanded that none should take in any *Spaniards*, nor passe beyond *Graves-end* without License; but the *Spaniards* and the *Hollanders*, plotting a great while counter the one to the other, the *Spaniard* at length somewhat out-witted his Enemy, and by a stratagem in the night coveyed away fourteen *Dunkirk* ships, and in them four thousand men.

In the beginning of *October*, the *King* sent the *Earl of Arundel* to the *Admiral* of *Spain*, *Don Antonio D' Oquendo*, desiring him to retreat upon the first fair winde, because he would not they should engage within his Seas; but the winde continued Eastwardly so long (a thing not usual at that season) as the *Hollanders* had daily fresh supply from *Zealand*, so that at length their *Armado* was compleated to an hundred ships, wherewith they encompassed their Enemies within pistol shot for some dayes. But that which was so long an enterview of these two great Fleets, at last turned to an engagement.

For the 11. of the same moneth *Van Trump* the *Dutch Admiral*, charged the *Spaniards* with Canon and fire-ships so furiously,

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1639.

ously, as made them all cut their cables, and being fifty three in number, twenty three ran on shoare and stranded in the *Downes*, whereof three were burnt, two sunk, and two perished on the shoare: one of these was a great Gallion the Vice-Admiral of *Gallatia*, *Don Andrea de Castro*, and had fifty two brasse peices of Ordnance: the remainder of the twenty three deserted by the *Spaniards*, who went to land, were mann'd by the *English* to save them from the *Dutch*. The other thirty *Spanish* ships under the command of the Admirals *Don Antonio d' Oquendo*, and *Lopua* of *Portugal*, went to Sea, and kept in close order, untill a great fogge fell upon them, when the *Dutch* taking his advantage, interposed betwixt the Admirals and their Fleet, and fought them valiantly till the fogge cleared up, when the Admiral of *Portugal* began to flame being fired with two *Holland* fire ships, which *D' Oquendo* perceiving he presently took his course towards *Dunkirk*, with the Admiral of that place and some few ships more; for most of the rest were taken; of these thirty, eleven were sent prisoners into *Holland*, three perished upon the coast of *France*, one neer *Dover*, five sunk in the fight, and only ten escaped. This Narration was sent from *Van Trump* him selfe to *Foachioni* the then *Dutch* Agent here.

The first apparition of this *Armada* upon our Coast, was beheld by Countrey people as a representation of that *Invincible One* in 88. and that the main design of this, was like that, an Invasion. They thought the imbarquing of twenty five thousand Land-Souldiers, besides Mariners, were too many for a recrute. They thought the Admiral of *Naples* his refusal to shew his Commission, though required by the *King*, was but of ill signification; they wondered that the Town of *Dunkirk*, should so much dispute the reception of the four thousand which were conveyed thither, till the Cardinall *Infanta* sent expresse order, had those Forces been designed for their recrute. And this perswasion is so implanted in many, as it is still very difficult to make them unbelieve it: or not knowing, or not considering, that those *Souldiers* were unarmed, very few *Officers* amongst them, and the whole *Fleet* so poorly accommodated for Invasion, as they had not *Powder* enough for their own *Defensive offence*, so that when they lay at *Anchor* in the *Downes*, *London* was their chiefe *Magazine*, from whence they had their constant and daily supply.

These two potent *Enemies*, being both friends to *England*, the *Brittish Seas* ought by rule of *State* to have been an harbour of retreat to secure the weaker from the stronger, not the scene of their hostile engagement; and had this presumptuous attempt of the *Hollander* met with a *King*, or in *Times* of another temper, it would not, it's like, have been so silently connived

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1639.

Sir Thomas Co-
ventry dyeth.

at, and their victory might have cost them the losse of *Englands* correspondence. But *Self-denyal* is a *Christian*, not a *Martial* virtue, and who is able to resist the temptation of an advantage, whereby he may destroy his foe, upon the nicety of exceeding his just limits? Besides the *King*, the *Dutch* well knew, was of a genius, as not querulous, so it provoked, very placable; and the disposition of his affaires, as well as of his minde, dissuaded from expostulating the matter with them.

About the beginning of *January* dyed Sir *Thomas Coventry*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, a Dignity he had fifteen years enjoyed, if it be not more proper to say, That Dignity had enjoyed him so long, this latter age affording not one of every way more apt qualifications for the place. His front and presence bespoke a venerable regard, not inferiour to that of any of his Antecessors. His train and suit of followers was disposed agreeably to shun both envy and contempt; not like that of the Viscount *St. Albans*, or the Bishop of *Lincoln*, whom he succeeded, ambitious, and vain; his Port was state, theirs ostentation. They were indeed the more knowing men, but their learning was extravagant to their Office: Of what concerned his place he knew enough, and which is the main, acted conformable to his knowledge; for in the administration of justice, he was so erect, so incorrupt, as captious malice stands mute in the blemish of his fame: a miracle, the greater when we consider that he was also a *Privy Counsellour*. A trust wherein he served his Master the *King* most faithfully, and the more faithfully, because of all those Counsels which did disserve his Majesty, he was an earnest dissuader, and did much disaffect those sticklers who laboured to make the *Prerogative* rather tall, then great, as knowing that such men loved the *King* better then *Charles Stewart*. So that although he was a Courtier, and had for his Master a passion most intense, yet had he also alwayes of passion some reserve for the publique welfare. An argument of a free, noble, and right-principled minde. For what both Court and Countrey have alwayes held as inconsistent, is in truth erroneous. And no man can be truly *Loyal*, who is not also a good *Patriot*, nor any a good *Patriot*, who is not truly *Loyal*. To this worthy Gentleman succeeded Sir *John Finch*, formerly Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

The *Scot's* Revolters in the state I left them, were not like to meliorate nor to goe lesse in animosity, but every day administred recent matter of discontent, and of fomentation to the differences: and every event, of any considerable assise, must be interpreted as configurating and complying with the great cause.

It fortuned that *November* the 19. being the *Anniversary* night of the *Kings* birth-day, a great part of the walls of the Castle of

Edenburgh

Edenburgh Ca-
stle-walls fall
down.

Edenburgh fell to the ground, with the Canons mounted: which caused such a consternation, such an Alarm in the Castle, as if they had been undermined and surprized; but that was not all, for this casualty upon a time of so much remarque, could then receive no other construction from the Grammar of Superstition, then an ominous presage of the ruine of the *Kings* design; especially considering that at that very same night the *Scotch* Commissioners returned from *England* to *Edenburgh*, so that the dilapidation seemed to import an humble prostration to the idolized *Covenant*.

But the craftiest (I say not the wisest) of the Combination, would not trust to such fallacious conjectures; but willing to apprehend, and lay hold of any thing which offered its service to their enterprise, made a politique use thereof, and the *King* having appointed the Lord *Estrich*, Colonel *Ruthen*, and Governour of the Castle, to take order for the re-edification of what was lapsed, they refused to permit any materials to be carryed in for reparation: which so incensed the *King*, as he concluded the indignity intolerable, and presently entred into deliberation how to relieve himself by force under this oppression; but with whom he should consult, there lay the difficulty, the transactions of his Council must be more closely carryed then heretofore, for fear of correspondency with the *Covenanters*; to this end a private *Juncto* for the *Scotch* affaires, are selected from his Council, and great care taken, that those *hunting Lords* (as the *Archbishop* called them) *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Holland*, &c. who were Commissioners at the Pacification, be excluded, though *Hamilton* was retained, more dangerous, and fallacious then all. At this close and secret Council, *Decemb. 5.* it was agreed his Majesty should call a *Parliament*, to assemble *April* the 13. The *King* told them he exceeding well approved of that Council, but withall he said, *My Lords, the Parliament cannot suddenly convene, and the subsidies they grant will be so long in levying, as in the interim I may be ruin'd; therefore some speedy course must be thought upon for supplies.* Whereupon the Lords told him they would engage their own credits, and the Lord *Deputy* of *Ireland* giving the onset, subscribed for twenty thousand pounds; the other Lords had, some the same loyal zeal, and others the modesty not to refuse. The Lords of the Council did in this example implicitly give a law to the other Nobles, who generally conformed most cheerfully, saving some few whom singularity, or somewhat more portentous, restrained. Nor staid the project there, but every man must be in the mode. All the Judges, both of the Common and Civil Law, with all the Officers and appendants of their Courts, were sent for, not to lend, as they were spontaneously inclined, but to contribute what others had assented them. But the greatest non-Recusants, were

Their reparation hindered by the Covenanters.

An. Christi
1639.

Commis-
sioners sent to the
King from the
Covenanters.

the *Recusants*, who did strive with the forwardest, as ambitious to be reputed the *Kings* most loyal Subjects, and some Preachers were so bold, and withall so indiscreet, to style them so; the truth is, the *Queen* who could not be but equally concern'd in the *Kings* interest, finding they both now had all at stake, bestir'd herselfe as eagerly with those her correspondents in religious perswasion, and employed Sir *Kenelm Digby* and Mr. *Mountague* to negotiate with the *Romish* Catholiques for a contribution, who yielded it in a proportion agreeable to their abilities.

The *King* thus busie in providing against the *Scots*, (who began now to be bruited all over *England* for *Rebels*) they were as industrious to form their deportment in so supple a posture, as might de-marque and deface all tokens of so horrid an imputation. They resorted to the *King*, humbly craving leave to represent the state of all their transactions to his *Majesty*; the *King* said, he was accostable by any subject he had, and sure he would not deny that congeable access to a whole Kingdom, which he was ready to yeeld to any private man: therefore bad them come with confidence of impartial hearing. This answer being returned, the Covenanters sent up their Commissioners, the Earl of *Dumfermlin*, the Lord *London*, Sir *William Douglas*, and Mr. *Barkly*; these being admitted, and their Commission examined, it was evident, that the two last were not named in, nor impowred by it, and that the other two were onely authorized to assert the integrity of their actions, without making any reall demonstration thereof, and had not the least order to propound such things as might accommodate the differences, or give the *King* any satisfaction at all. Yet the *King* was willing to allow them all the faire respect he in honour could, hoping to gain upon them by the sweetnesse of his carriage, but all would not doe: for at that very moment of their addressees to him in the specious mode of suppliants, their actions spake very articulate, very expresse, somewhat of a quite other signification. For many of the prime Nobility and Gentry of that Nation, who stood firm in their inclinations to the *King*, they secured, that is, imprisoned: They invited and procured to their service many Commanders from *Holland*, who still kept their places there, though such Officers as betook themselves to the *Kings* employment were instantly cashiered; they reared works of Fortification in all places agreeable to their designs. But the daring paramount, and above all others, was their imploring aid from the *French King* in a particular addresse to him as followeth,

SIR,

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1639.

Their letter to
the King of
France.

SIR,

Your Majesty being the refuge and Sanctuary of afflicted Princes and States, we have found it necessary to send this Gentleman Mr. COLVIL, to represent to your Majesty the Candor and Ingenuity, as well of our Actions and Proceedings, as of our Intentions, which we desire to be engraved and written to the whole World, with the beam of the Sun, as well as to your Majesty. We therefore most humbly beseech you, Sir, to give faith and credit to him, and all that he shall say on our part, touching us, and our affairs, being most assured, Sir, of an assistance equall to your wonted clemency heretofore, and so often shew'd to this Nation, which will not yeeld the glory to any other whatsoever, to be eternally

SIR,

*Your Majesties most humble, most obedient,
and most affectionate servants,*

Rothes, Montrose, Lesly, Marr,

Mongomery, Lowdon, Forrester.

Though this was a *Conclave* secret, communicated to a very few, and kept under a most strict guard, yet did it at length evade from that close captivity, and was by some false Brother discovered to the King. His Majesty having had consultation with those about him concerning the character, it was at length assured him, that it must be the *cheirography* of the Lord Lowdon, whereupon he was committed to the Tower, and kept there in close confinement.

Though the *Presbyterian* party stand charged in vulgar account as the principal and most notorious authors of these troubles, yet were they not the only men in the conspiracy, nor must it be thought but others were (though invisibly) accessary fomenters of them: For in case of general disturbance, nothing is more familiar then for several *Factions*, of several, and sometimes of contrary inclinations and interests, to prorude and drive on one and the same design, to severall intents and purposes. And a foul blemish it would have been to these Mercurialists, to the *Society of Jesus*, should they have sate out in a work so proper to their employment (the incitation of *Kingdoms* and *States* to turbulent commotions) as these *Scottish* broyls.

An. Christi

1639.

A Plot of the
Papists disco-
vered against
the King and
Arch-bishop.

broyls. No, (good men) they slept not all this while, but were as diligent in their machinations as possibly they could be, the externall glory of the enterprife their ambition did not reach, but they willingly rendred it up to the Presbyters: hoping in the interim to be the greatest gainers in the product and fruits of their labours.

How far they were of combination in this plot, though in a more subtil, secret and scarce discovered way, (their usuall mode) the ensuing Narrative shall set forth, which I insert, not upon the account of Mr. *Prynns* faith, who first made it extant, but because I am further assured of the truth of it, by a more credible person, and one of principall relation to Sir *William Boswell*, and because it may serve to illustrate some former passages of this History.

The first discoverer of this Plot was one *Andreas ab Habernfield*, a Nobleman of *Bohemia*, and Physitian to the Lady *Elizabeth*, the *Palsgraves* relict. This Gentleman by a Confident of his, first made it known to Sir *William Boswell*, and by his meanes addrest himselfe to the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* as followeth:

Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord,

We have willingly and cordially perceived that our offers have been acceptable both to his Royal Majesty, and likewise to your Grace. This is the only index to us, that the blessing of God goeth along with you, whereby we are the more extimulated, chearfully and freely to declare and discover those things, whereby the hazard of both your lives, the subversion of the Realmes both of England and Scotland, the tumbling down of his Excellent Majesty from his Throne is projected. Now lest the discourse should be enlarged with superfluous circumstances, we will onely premise some things which are meerly necessary to the matter.

First, be it known to them, that this good man, the Informer of the ensuing discoveries, was born and bred in the Pontifical Religion, and spent many yeares in Ecclesiasticall Functions. At length being judged a fit person for carrying on the present designe, by the advice and command of the Lord Cardinall *Barbarino*, he was made co-agutor to *con*, (the then Popes Nuncio) to whom he appeared so diligent, and sedulous in his office,

office, that hope of great preferment was given to him; But he, guided by a better inspiration, was not won by those sugar baits, and conscious to himselfe of the vanities of that Religion, (whereof he he had sometimes been a strenuous Defender) having also observed the malice of the Romish party, found his Conscience much oppressed; for ease whereof he resorted in his beliefe to the Orthodox Religion. And thought it his best way to reveale a plot, tending to the destruction of so many innocent soules, conceiving his minde would better repose, should he vent what he knew into the bosome of some confiding friend. This done, he was seriously admonished by that friend, to give manifest tokens of his Conversion, and to deliver from imminent danger so many innocent soules. To this counsell he willingly consigned himselfe, and delivered the subsequent matters to writing, whereby the Articles lately presented to your Grace may be clearly explicated and demonstrated.

1. That the maine of the businesse may be known, it is to be considered, that all these factions which this day make Christianity reel, have their rise from the *Jesuiticall* off-spring of *Cham*, which branch it self into four Orders.

The first are *Ecclesiasticks*; these take into care the promotions of Religious affairs.

The second are *Politicians*; their office is to take care for the raising of civil combustions in, and reforming of Kingdomes.

The third are *Seculars*, who are properly designed for to intrude into Offices of neer relation to the persons of Princes, to insinuate themselves into Civil affaires of the Court, as Bargaines, and Sales.

The fourth are men of a lower orb, *Intelligencers*, and Spies: then to creep into the services of eminent persons,

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persons, Princes, Earls, Barons, or the like, and endeavour to pervert or cheat them.

A Society of so many Orders the Kingdome of England nourisheth; for scarce all Spain, France, and Italy, can yeeld so great a multitude of Jesuites as London alone, where are found more then fifty Scotch Jesuites; there the said Society hath elected for it selte a seate of iniquity, and hath conspired against the King and his greatest Confidents, especially against the Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and likewise against both Kingdomes.

For it is most certaine that the said Society hath resolved upon an Universall Reformation in the Kingdomes of England and Scotland. And the determination of the end, necessarily inferreth a determination of the meanes.

For promotion therefore of the undertaken villany, this Society is dubbed with the title of *The Congregation for the propagation of the Faith*, which acknowledgeth the Pope of Rome for their Principall, and Cardinall *Barbarino* for his Substitute and Deputy.

This Cardinal
was Nephew
and Vice-
Chancellor to
Pope Urban the
eighth.

The chiefe patron of this Society is the Popes Legate, who hath speciall care of the businesse; into his bosome this rabble of Traitors weekly deposite their Intelligences. The Residence of this Legation was obtained at London in the name of the Pope, by whose mediation it might be lawfull for Cardinall *Barbarino* to worke so much the more easily and safely upon the King and Kingdome. For none could so easily circumvent the King as he, who should be palliated with the Popes Authority.

Seignior Con was at that time the Popes Legate, the Universall Minister of that conjured Society, and a vehement promoter of the plot, whose secrets, as likewise those of all other intelligencers, the present Informer

Informers of all these things, did receive and dispatch as the businesse required.

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CO N tampered with the chiefe men of the Kingdom, and left nothing unattempted by which he might corrupt them all, and incline them to the Romish party: he inticed with many various baits, the very King himself, he sought to delude with gifts of Pictures, Antiquities, Idols, and such like trumperies, brought from Rome, which yet prevailed nothing with the King.

Thus familiarly entertained by the King oft at *Hampton-Court*, and at *London*, he was entreated to undertake the cause of the Prince *Palatine*, that he would interpose his authority, and by intercession perswade the Legate of *Colen*, that the *Palatine* (in the next Diet for the treating about Peace) might be inserted into the conditions; which he promised, but performed the contrary. He intimated indeed, that he had been solicited by the King to such an effect, but did not advise any such consent, lest peradventure the *Spaniard* should say that the Pope of Rome did patronize an hereticall Prince.

In the interim Con, smelling from the Archbishop, (the Kings most Confident) that the Kings minde was altogether pendulous, and doubtfull, resolved to move every stone, and bend all his strength to gaine him to his side; being confident he had prepared the meanes. For he had a command to make offer of a Cardinalls Cap to the Lord Archbishop in the name of the Pope of Rome, and that he should allure him also with higher promises, that he might corrupt his sincere minde. Yet a fitting occasion was never offered whereby he might insinuate himselfe into the Lord Arch-Bishop, to whom free acceffe was to be impetrated by the Earl and Countesse of *Arundel*, as also by Secretary *Windebank*, all whose intercessions he neglected,

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and did shun (as it were the Plague) the company or familiarity of CON. He was also solicited by others of no mean rank, well known to him, and yet he continued immoveable.

Triall also was made of another, Secretary COOK, who impeded access to the detestable designe; an utter enemy he was to the Jesuites, whose access to the King he obstructed. He treated many of them as they deserved, he searcht into their factions, by which meanes every incitement breathing an attractive power to the Romish Catholiques, was ineffectuall with him; for nothing was so deare to him as his owne innocence: whence being rendred odious to the conspirators, he was in perpetuall hazard of losing his Place, which being laboured for three years, was at length obtained.

But for all this the King had left him a knotty peece, for the Lord Arch-bishop by his constancy, opposed himselfe as an immoveable rock.

CON and his party finding the Lord Arch-bishop so impregnable, and that they laboured in vaine, began to boyl with malice, and to plot how the Lord Arch-bishop, together with the King should be taken.

Sentence also is passed against the King (who was the main concernment in the Plot) because nothing is hoped from him which might seem to promote the Popish Religion, but especially when he had once declared himselfe that he was of the minde, that any good and pious man may be saved in his own Religion.

To act the Treason undertaken, the criminall execution at Westminster, caused by some Puritanicall writing, gavethe first spark; a thing so much exasperated, and exaggerated by the Papists and Puritans, that if it went unrevenge, it would be thought a blemish to their Religion, the flames of which fire, the subsequent Liturgie encreased.

In this heat a certain Scottish Earl, one MAXVEL, if I mistake not, was dispatcht to the Scots by the Popish party,

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party, with whom two other Scottish Earles were correspondents, he was to excite the people to commotion: He was to raise commotions to re-inforce the sense of every injury, and to spur on the people to Rebellion, whereby the great disturber of the Scotch liberty might be destroy'd.

This Maxwell, Anno 1624. went to Rome to receive the Popes Benediction Extraordinary, and other graces; which the Council of Scotland hearing of, they set out a Ban or Proscription against him, for departing the Kingdome without leave. But upon King James his death, he came for England, and by the Dukes meanes (whose kindswoman he had married) was not onely pardoned, but favoured to so high a degree, as occasioned a very high contest between the Council of Scotland and him in the very Kings presence, Anno 1625.

There by one labour, snares are laid for the King, for which purpose the affaire was so ordered, that very many English should adhere to the Scots. That the King should be inferiour to them in Armes, whereby he might be inforced to crave aide from the Papists, which yet should be denyed him, unlesse he would descend to conditions, by which he should permit a generall toleration of the Romish Religion, which was the thing the Papists did aime at. And should he be difficultly brought to such termes, there was a remedy hoped for.

For the young Prince (who from his Cradle was educated in advantage to the Romish perswasion) growing on fast in his youthful age, the Kings death was contrived by an Indian Nur, stuffed with a most fierce poison, kept in the Society, (which CON then shewed me in a boasting manner) and prepared for him, as there was another for his Father.

During the Scotch troubles, the Marquesse of Hamilton was often imployed by the King as Commissioner to compose disorders there, and pacifie the discontented party, but returned as often without fruit. His Chaplain repaired at that time to us, and had secret conference with

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with CON, of whom I demanded in jest, "Whether also the Jews agreed with the Samaritans; To which CON answered, "I would to God all Ministers were like him; you may conjecture of this as you please.

Things standing thus, there came to London from Cardinal *Richelieu*, Mr. *Thomas Chamberlain* his Chaplain and Almoner, a Scot by Nation, who was to assist the Colledge of confederacy to advance the businesse, and to attempt all wayes of exasperating the first heat: for this service a Bishoprick was promised him. Four moneths space he co-habited with the Society, nor was he permitted to depart, untill matters succeeding as he wished, he might return with good newes.

Sir *Toby Matthew* a Jesuited Priest of the Order of Politicians, the most vigilant of the chiefe heads, (who never went to bed, but got a nap of an houre or two in a chair) day and night plotted mischief. A man principally noxious, and the very Plague both of King and Kingdom, a man most impudent, hunting all feasts, called or not called, never quiet, alwayes in action and perpetuall motion. Intruding into the company of all his betters, pressing discourses wherby to fish out mens inclinations; whatsoever he sucketh from thence either of advantage, or noxious to the conspiracy, he imparteth to the Popes Legate, reserving the most secret intelligence for the Pope himselfe, or the Cardinal *Barbarino*. In short, he associates himself with any, not a word can be spoken but he layes hold of it, and accommodates it to his turn. In the interim all his observations he reduceth into a Catalogue, and every Summer carrieth it to the general Consistory of the Jesuites Politiques, which privately meet in the Province of Wales, where he is a welcome guest. There are Councils closely hammered, which are fittest for the ruining of the Ecclesiastique and Politique state of both Kingdomes.

Captain *Read* a Scot, dwelling in Long-Acre street neer the Angel Tavern, a Secular Iesuite, who for his detestable

ble service performed (in perverting of a certain Minister of the Church, with secret inticements to the Popish Religion, with all his Family, taking his daughter to wife) obtained as a reward, an impost upon butter paid by the Countrey people, procured for him from the King by some chiefe men of the Society, who never want a spur whereby he may be constantly detained in his Office. In his house the whole plot is contrived, where the Society which hath conspired against the King, the Lord Arch-bishop and both Kingdomes convene: but on the day of the Posts dispatch, they meet in greater numbers; for then all their informers assemble, and confer their notes together; and that they may be the lesse suspected, convey all their secrets by *Toby Mathew*, or *Read* himselfe to the Popes Legate, who transmits the packet of Intelligence to Rome.

With the same *Read* are entrusted the Letters brought from Rome, under forged titles and names, and by him delivered to whom they belong; for all their names are known to him.

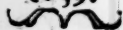
Upon the same occasion Letters are also brought over under the covert of Father *Philip* (though he be ignorant of the plot) who distributeth them to the Conspirators.

In that very house there is a publique Chappel, wherein an Ordinary Jesuite consecrates, and dwelleth. In this Chappel Masses are daily said by the Jesuites, and the children of some of the Domestiques, and some conspirators are baptizd.

They who meet there come often in Coaches, or a horseback in Lay mens habit, and with a great train, wherewith they are disguised from notice, yet are Jesuites and Members of the Conspiracy.

All the Papists of England contribute to this Assembly, lest any thing should be wanting to promote the enterprise, upon whose treasury a Widow, owner of the Houses where now secretary *Windebank* dwelleth, and dead above three yeares since, conferred forty thousand pounds, and

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and for the driving on of the businesse, others contribute as they are able.

Besides the foresaid houses, there are also other close Conventicles kept, but very distrustfull of themselves, lest they should be discovered. First every of them (one not knowing of the other) are directed to certaine Inns, and thence led by spies to the place of meeting, being otherwise ignorant of the place for fear of surprize.

The Countesse of *Arundel*, a strenuous she-Champion of the Romish Faith, bends all her powers for this Universall Reformation, nothing is done secretly, or openly at Court, but she imparts it to the Legate, with whom she meets thrice a day, sometimes at *Arundel* house, now at Court, or at *Tart-Hall*.

The Earl himselfe being called about three yeares since, this year must goe to Rome, without doubt to consult there of matters pertinent to the designe.

At *Greenwich*, at the Earles cost, a feminine School is erected, which is but a Monastery of Nuns; for the young Girles therein are sent forth, hither, and thither, into forrain Monasteries beyond the Seas.

Master *Porter* of the Kings Bed-chamber, most addicted to the Popish Religion, is an utter enemy of the Kings, revealing all the secrets to the Legate by his wife; for he rarely meets with him himselfe. In all his actions he is nothing inferiour to *Toby Matthew*, it is unexpressible how diligently he intends this businesse.

His Sons are secretly principled in the Romish believe, but open professors of the Reformed: the eldest is now to receive his Fathers place under the future King: A Cardinalls hat is provided for the other, if the plot takes.

Three years since Mr. *Porter* was to be sent away by the King to *Morocco*: But was prohibited by the Society, lest the businesse should suffer delay.

He is a Patron of the Iesuites, providing Chappels for them to exercise their Religion in, both at home and abroad.

This Porter
had formerly
in his youth
served in the
Gonds.

Secre-

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Secretary *Windebank* a fierce Papist, is the greatest Traitor to the King of all. He not onely revealeth the Kings greatest secrets, but also communicates counsells by which the designe may be best advanced. He at least thrice every week converseth with the Legate in the Nocturnall Conventicles, and revealeth what is fit to be known: to which end he hireth a house neer to the Popes Legate, to whom he often resorts through the Garden door; for by this vicinity the meeting is facilitated. He is bribed with gifts to be a partner in the Conspiracy, by whom he is sustained, that he may most sedulously attend his charge; his Son is sent expressly to Rome, on purpose to insinuate himself into his Holiness.

Digby and *winter*, Knights, *Mr. Montague*, who hath been at *Rome*, the Lord *Sterlin*, a kinsman of the Earle of *Arundel*, a Knight, the Countesse of *Nevv-port*, the Dutchesse of *Buckingham*, and many others, who have sworn to this Conspiracy, are all most vigilant in the plot: Some are enticed with hope of Court, others of Political Offices, others attend to the sixteen Cardinalls caps vacant, which are detained so, to feed with vain hopes those who expect them.

The President of the said Society, was the Lord *Cage*, a Jesuited Priest, dead some three years since. He had a Palace adorned with wanton pictures, as pretending to prophanenesse, but palliating thereby a Monastery, wherein forty Nuns were maintained, concealed in so spacious a Palace. It is situated in *Queens street*. The Jesuites have bought all this street, and have reduced it to a quadrangle, where a Jesuiticall Colledge is tacitely built, with this hope that it might be openly finished as soon as the Generall Reformation was accomplished.

The Popes Legate useth a threefold Character, one common to all Nuncio's. Another peculiar to himself and Cardinall *Barbarino*. A third wherewith he covers some greater secrets to be imparted. Whatsoever things he recei-

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veth from the Society, or spies, he packeth up in one bundle, with this addresse, *To Monsieur Stravio Archdeacon of Cambrai*, from whom they are sent to Rome.

These particulars considered, it will be evident to all,

1. That the Conspiracy against the King and Lord Arch-bishop is detected, and the means threatening ruine to them both is demonstrated.

2. The imminent danger to both Kingdomes is declared.

3. The rise and progresse of the Scotch fire is related.

4. Meanes are suggested whereby their troubles may be appeased; for after the Scots shall see by whom, and to what intents their spirits are provoked, they will speedily look to themselves, neither will they suffer the Forces of both Kingdomes to be subdued, lest a middle party interpose, which seek the ruine of both.

5. With what Sword the Kings Throat is assaulted, even when these stirs shall be ended, *Cons* confession and visible demonstration sheweth.

6. The place of Assembly in Captain *Reads* house is named.

7. The eight dayes dispatch by *read*, and the Legate is described.

8. How the names of the Conspirators may be known.

9. Where this whole Congregation may be circumvented.

10. Some of the principall unfaithful ones of the Kings party, are notified by name; and many, whose names occur not yet, their habitations being known, their names may be easily extorted from *read*.

If these things be warily proceeded in, the strength of the whole businesse will be brought to light, so the arrow being foreseen, the danger shall be avoided, which that it may prosperously succeed, the Almighty Creator grant.

They

They who will diligently compare this Information with what hath conformably occurred in the preceding part of these *Annals*, and shall withall well consider the practices both ancient and modern of these pragmaticall spirits, will find cause enough to think there was in it somewhat more then fiction, and that it may make some impression upon faith, without setting it upon the rack. Only one objection I shall rid out of the way which may seem to discredit the truth thereof. And it is this;

The *Archbishop of Canterbury* stands aspersed in common fame, as a great friend at least, and Patron of the *Romish* Catholics, if he were not of the same belief. And it were a policy mis-becoming such subtle-Serpents, causelessly to plot the death of their so eminent well-wisher. To which I answer, by concession; True it is, he had too much and long favoured the *Romish Faction*, but as upon what account it was he favoured them is uncertain, so was it but the *Romish Faction*, not the *Romish Faith* he favoured. He tampered indeed to introduce some ceremonies bordering upon superstition, disused by us, and abused by them: from whence the *Romanists* collected such a disposition in him to their Tenets, as they began, not only to hope, but in good earnest to cry him up for their *Proselyte*. Upon this hypothesis, this supposition, they grew excessive proud and insolent, as well they might (knowing how grand a Confident and Trustee he was of the *Kings*) had not their perswasion misled them; But the *Archbishop* finding that his tacite reservednesse in point of opinion, and former compliance with the *Papists*, was no longer expedient for his designs, and did begin to create ill-boading jealousies in another party, resolved to speak out, and unbeguile them both. And first in the year 1637. openly at the Councel Table, he passionately complained to the *King* of their audacious resort to *Denmark* house, using some expressions of vehemency more particularly against the haughty deportment of Master *Walter Mounague*, and Sir *Toby Matthew*. But that which most despighted them, was his publishing the next year the *Relation of his conference with the Jesuite Father*, wherein he declared himself so little theirs, as he hath for ever disabled them from being so much their own as they were before; it being the exactest, the master-piece of *Polemique* Divinity of all extant. Pity it is his thoughts which were in other affaires a thought too high, had so fatall a diversion from his studies. But what one is excellent in every thing? Now the *Archbishop* thus professedly owning the *Protestant* cause, and having so potent an influence upon the *King*, it was no wonder if he became as formidable to the *Romanists*, as *Hannibal* was to the *Romans*; (and where *Hannibal* was, there his enemies judged the life and soul of the *Carthaginian* strength to reside) and by consequence his destruction the main concernment of their interest.

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An objection
answered re-
lating to the
discovery.

Ubi Hannibal
est, ibi caput
arqve arx bujus
Billi. Liv.

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The Parlia-
ment assem-
bled.

April the 13. the *Parliament* sate according to pre-appointment, when the *Earl of Strafford* was led into the upper House by two Noble-men to give them account what feats he had wrought in *Ireland*, having there obtained the grant of four Subsidies for the maintenance of ten thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse : implicitly hinting agreeable to what scheme *England* should proportion their supplies. Some few dayes after a report was made to the Lords, by the Lord *Cottington* (who with Secretary *Windebank* and the *Attorney* Generall were sent by the *King* to the Lord *Lowdon* to examine him, concerning the Letter before mentioned) that the Lord did acknowledge the hand-writing to be his, that it was framed before the *Pacification* at *Barwick*, and was never sent to that *King*, but only prepared in a readinesse, should need require, and that it was suppress'd upon that *Pacification*; neverthelesse it was thought fit he should continue in the same state untill clearer evidence should be given, either for, or against him.

Soon after the *King* sent a message to the lower house about supplies representing to them the intolerable indignities and injuries wherewith the *Scots* had treated him, and withall declared to them, that if they would assist him sutable to the exigency of his sad occasion, he would for ever quit his claime of Ship-mony, and into the bargain give them full content in all their just demands. But they reply'd, they expected first security from his Majesty in these three particulars; First, for clearing the Subjects property; Secondly, for establishment of Religion; Thirdly, for the priviledge of Parliament. Many conferences there were had between the Lords and Commons about this old contest, which should precede, the Kings supply, or the Subjects grievances. The Lords after a strong division among themselves at length voted for the *King*, and the Commons for the Subjects. But it was not long before this unhappy difference was most unhappily decided. For Secretary *Vane* who was imploy'd to declare the particulars of the Kings desires, required twelve Subsidies, whereas twas said, his expresse order was for only six. Some there are suspect this mistake to have been not involuntary, but industrious in him; but leaving that indetermined, the House of Commons was rais'd by this Proposition to such animosity, as the *King* advising with his *Juncto*, their compliance was represented to him so desperate, as May the 5. he ordered the Dissolution of the Parliament.

Thus expired this short-lived, or rather thus ended this stil-born Parliament; a Parliament I know not whether more unfortunate, in beginning so late, or ending so soon. A Parliament which had Power, and probably Will enough to impede the torrent of the late civill War: for the breaches between the *King* and People were grown so high, as one might already discern all the lineaments of an insurrection in *Embryo*, but the head, whose Abortion nothing could

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could cause but an happy union in Parliament, a thing not very difficult, much lesse impossible at this time. Had the King yielded to a detrenching some luxuriences of his Prerogative, to the reducing Episcopacy to its primitive institution, that is, to the frame by Divine Right (a root which had not sap enough to maintain so spreading and flourishing a top as was contended for) to a more frequent and sociable communication of Counsels with the grand Representative; in short, to such fluent and spontaneous concessions, as being resolved upon too late, were (in reference to his personall safety) lost and thrown away in the ensuing Parliament; in all likelihood he had much quieted the distempers of his subjects, much calm'd heir animosities; why not totally gained their affections? and in order to all this his Majesty had now already modelled all his passions, all his inclinations. And as the King was disposed towards this blessed conjunction, so was there not so intense an opposition to the Kings satisfaction in the mind of the generality of the members of this Parliament, as was like to obstruct it. So that to counsel the dissolution of an Assembly so importing to the Kings and Kingdoms welfare must be the advice of men who understod not so well as they meant, whereof many laid the blame upon the *Archbishop of Canterbury*, a learned, pious, and morally a good man, but too full of fire. As affaires of the Church then stood, Bishops might in reference to Ecclesiastical concerns be serviceable assessors in Privy Council, but in civil matters perhaps it had been better, had they been lesse active, according to the example of this *Archbishops* predecessor, *Archbishop Whitgift*, who being a Privy Counsellor, it was his constant mode to attend the Table early in the morning, and after the usuall appreciation of a good-morrow to the Lords, he alwayes requested to know if there were any Church businesse to be debated that forenoon; if the answer returned was, yea, he stayed; if negative, he craved leave to be dispensed withall, saying, *Then my Lords there's no need of me*, and so departed. A most laudable and prudentiall practise.

This convention was not more unhappily dissolved then another was continued, that is, as a witty Gentleman said well, *A new Synod made of an old Convocation*, which by new Commission from the King, were impowred to sit still: the impulsives to it are easily collected from what resulted from it.

The *Scotish* fires had already in that Kingdome consumed and burnt up to nothing Episcopacy both root and branch, and just cause there was to fear the like proceedings here in *England*, where many began not only to sit upon the Bishops skirts, that is, to controvert the mores and bounds of their authority, but to claim a *co-parcenery*, and equall share in the main possession, asserting, in good earnest, that though the Bishops had long Lorded over them through temporal indulgence, yet in the sacred Dialect they were as good men

The Convocation siteth.

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as themselves, *Bishops* and *Presbyters* in Scripture phrase being of equivalent import, and denoted the self same persons; without the least distinction, they whom Holy Text calls *Bishops*, having an *Identity*, a same-ness of Name, of Ordination, of Office, of all qualifications necessary to that office, with *Presbyters*. The Prelates finding their dear *Palladium* so deeply concerned, and heaved at, were as eager to conserve it, the Presse swarmed with Books setting forth the Right upon which Episcopacy was founded, but all advantaged them little, for such a prejudice there was against them, and the Truth contended for lay then so deep, as few had perspicacity enough to discern it, so it did them little service, therefore the Bishops observing these levelling principles growing into such request took measure from their profest adversaries the generall Assembly of *Scotland*, with whom they so interfered. For as that Assembly having formed a *Covenant* for the destruction of Episcopacy, severely urged subscription to it: so did this Synod for the support of their *Hierarchy* frame as an Anti-covenant this Oath following;

They impose a
new Oath.

I A. B. doe swear, That I doe approve the Doctrine and Discipline of Government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation. And that I will not endeavour by my selfe or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish Doctrine contrary to that which is so established. Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church, by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans and Arch-Deacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the See of Rome. And all these things I doe plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear according to the plaine and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation or mentall evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I doe heartily, willingly, and truly upon the Faith of a Christian. So help me God in Jesus Christ.

Many things were exceedingly blamed in the contrivance of this Oath;

First, that seeing a clear notion of the thing sworn to (which the Prophet *Jeremy* comprehendeth under the word *Judgements*) is a necessary qualification to the legality of an Oath, this [&c.] was of so mysterious import, as the very Imposers, much lesse the Jurours, were not able to decypher what it meant.

Secondly,

Secondly, some things were expressly to be sworn to, which were never thought to have any shew or colour of sacred Right, but were conceived arbitrary, and at the disposition of the State; and to exact an Oath of dissent from civil establishments in such things of indifferency, was an affront to the very fundamentals of Government.

Lastly, because the Juror therein declared he sware willingly, to which he was constrained under the highest penalties, that is, as that noble Lord said, *Under the lose of both Heaven and Earth, of Heaven, by excommunication; and of Earth, by deprivation.*

Again, they ran parallel with the Covenanters in another constitution, for as the *Scots* condemned the *Arminian* tenets without defining what those Tenets were, which King *Charles* noted as a strange proceeding in them, so did these the *Socinians* not declaring wherein they were culpable.

There was also framed by this Synod a Canon wherein the situation of the Communion Table should be at the East end severed with Railes to preserve it from profanation, and for permitting the practice or omission of bowing towards the East as men were perswaded within themselves, concerning the lawfulness and decency thereof.

And that his Majesties ratification of these Rules might as well be thought an act of gratitude as grace, they granted him a most ample Benevolence of four shillings in the pound assent upon all the Clergy for six years towards his expedition against the *Scots*, which was beheld as an act of very high presumption and an usurpation upon the preeminence of Parliament; no Convocation having power to grant any Subsidies, or aid without confirmation from the Lay-Senate.

This Synod ended *May* the 29. and the first offender who became obnoxious to the animadversion of their new Law, was one of its late members, *Godfrey Goodman* Bishop of *Glocester*, who refused subscription to the Canons, and was thereupon suspended. This Bishop had been long suspected as addicted to the Romish belief.

The *Scots* having sped so well in their adventures against Sovereignty, *England* began now to be bewitched with their Principles, and to learn their Discipline of daring. Liberty is so sweet as few are of a temper too sober not to attempt it, especially when success hath opened the avenues of achievement, and rendered it seemingly attainable. Nor did we derive from them only the rudiments, but the method also of revolt. Our first probationary tumult commencing in a rude assault upon this *Archbishop*, as theirs upon the *Archbishop* of Saint *Andrews*. Specious pretences they wanted not to honest, to justify the enterprize. That *Parliament* from which the whole Kingdome expected a Reformation of all enormities

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1640.

Great Benevolence to the King.

An. Christi
1639.

The Archbishops Palace
beset by prentices.

enormities both in Church and Common-wealth, a totall dissipation of all foggie jealousies between the *King* and People, an accommodation of all differences between *England* and *Scotland*; that *Parliament* had an immature, miserable, deplorable dissolution; and who bare the odium of that unfortunate advice comparably to *Canterbury*? Upon this score a Paper was posted upon the *Old Exchange*, *May* the 9. *Exhorting Prentices to rise and sack his House at Lambeth the Munday following*; whereof the *Archbishop* having notice, prepared for his defence; and it was well he did so, for the *Munday* following, in the dead of night, about five hundred beset his *Palace*, and made many attempts to force an entrance, but all in vain, such provision had the *Archbishop* made for his security; but though he escaped the violence of their hands, yet did he not the virulence of their tongues, which did most impetuously rage against him, now with menaces, now with imprecations. The next day many of these riotous delinquents upon narrow inquiry were apprehended, and imprisoned in the *White-Lyon*, but within three dayes after some of their either complices, or adherents came in the day time, brake open the Prison, and enlarged them. Neverthelesse one of their Captains was re-taken, condemned at *Southwarke*, and *May* the 21. for example sake, hanged and quartered.

The *Parliament* being blown away without affording any thing in nature of supply to the *Kings* wants, all the wheeles of the *Prerogative* are put into motion to carry on the War: First, the *City of London* were invited to a Loan, then all Knights and Gentlemen who held Lands in Capite of the King were summoned to send men, horses, and Armes agreeable to their abilities.

The *City* was fullen, would not give down their milk, and pleaded want of Trade and poverty: a very poor plea as her condition then stodd, for how could want flow in upon a Nation from a Peace of forty years duration? And where Kingdomes thrive, the Mother Cities, which usually grasp and gripe all they can from the body, will be sure to secure themselves against necessity. No, she was luxuriant in wealth never more, and pampered with ease, so as her high repletion brought her into an ill habit of body, this set her on longing and lusting after strange Gods. She began now to be disciplined by Presbyterian emissaries, and resolved to fashion her self to the *Scottish* designs. Again, the *Prerogative* had lately, as she thought, treated her somewhat roughly. Her Plantation of *London-Derry* in *Ireland*, was for some alleadged misdemeanours, not long before questioned in the Star-chamber, and there declared forfeited to the King, and fines imposed upon the Planters; This was of no pleasing re-sentment, and operated not a little towards their denyall.

But the *Gentry* for the generality exhibited inclinations more prompt,

The Reign of King Charles.

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prompt, and afforded their help to relieve the *King*. By this and other fore-mentioned aids the Royal Army began to Rendezvous, whereof the Earl of *Northumberland* was appointed *Generalissimo*, and the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant General, but the first fell presently into a great sicknesse, so as his conduct was dispensed withall, and the second was not of so perfect health as to undertake the chief command; whereby, the *King* resolved to assume it himself, and having staid the *Queens* safe delivery of her son *Henry* in *July*, *August* the 20. he set forward towards the North, his Army having preceded him many dayes before, being informed that the *Scots* were entred *England*; but he made not such hast thither, but before he could come to see it verified, he heard it in the sad effects thereof. For having reached as far as *Northallerton* towards *New-castle*, he was welcomed thither by the Lord *Conway* with the unwelcome news of a great defeat, his Army had received that day being *Aug.* 28. at *Newburn* upon *Tine*, the substance of which action was as followeth;

August the 27. the Lord *Conway* then Commander in chief, had drawn all his Cavallery, being about twelve hundred Horse, and about three thousand Foot, to secure the passe upon the River of *Tine* neer *Newburn*, the Foot he had lodged behinde a breast-work, thereby to infest the Enemy in their passage. That night Lord Generall *Lesly* came to the other side of the River, and before morning had planted nine pieces of Ordnance, having blinded them with bushes from the *English* observation. The next morning he sent to the Lord *Conway*, desiring his leave to passe towards his Majesty with their Petition; the Lord answered that he would permit a few, but not an Army to passe; whereupon *Lesly* commanded three hundred Horse to advance into the River, whom the Musqueteers from behind the Breast-works so galled, as they were enforced to retire, which *Lesly* perceived, playing upon that blinde with his Canon so furiously, as made them abandon their post, cast away their Armes and fly: then the *Scots* Cavallery re-advanced, who were gallantly charged by Mr. *Wil-mot* Commissary General of the Horse; but they were so annoyed with the *Scots* Canon, and withall so over-nubred, all the burden of the encounter being born by the Gentlemen, as they were compelled to retire in disorder. In this hostile aggression the *English* received far the greater losse, three hundred being slain and taken. The Lord *Conway* perceiving the Cavallery thus routed, and the Infantry run all away, hastned his retreat to the *King*, and for the same reason Sir *Jacob Astley* then Governour of *New-castle*, deserted it, having first sunk the Ordnance in the River, being well assured it was not tenable, as having nothing in it tending to Fortification.

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1640.

The King goes
against the
Scots.

The *Scots* enter
England.

The engagement at *Newburn*.

The *English*
routed.

New-castle deserted.

An. Christi
1640.

The Earl of
Haddingtons
miscance at
Dunse.

A Petition pre-
sented to the
King by the
Lords.

The *English* Army retreating now from *New-castle*, was taken into the command of the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who brought up the Rear, and being come back to *Tork*, where the *King* then was, he charged the principal miscarriage of the action upon the Lord *Conway*, who with as stout an animosity vindicated his own reputation.

Though the *Covenanters* prospered in *England*, yet an odd accident in *Scotland* discoloured their affaires into a melancholick complexion. For General *Lesly* having left some peeces of Canon at *Dunse*, which he thought more than necessary for his service; the Garrison of *Barwick* issued out to fetch them from *Dunse*, and posselt themselves of them; upon this an Alarm was given to the Earl of *Haddington*, then commanding in *Louthian* and the *Merse*. The Earl with two thousand Horse and Foot pursues the *English*, and after a short skirmish rescued the Canon, which he carryed to *Dunglasse*. And being there at Dinner the next day with about fourteen or fifteen Knights and Gentlemen of note and neer alliance to him, very frolique and merry, in a moment the Magazine of powder which was in a Vault under the room where they dined, took fire and blew up himselfe with all his guests. Whether this was an accident, or some industrious plot, was not known.

September the Lords *Mandevil* and *Edward Howard*, delivered to the *King* at *Tork* this Petition.

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of your Majesties most loyall and most obedient Subjects, whose names are under written, in behalf of themselves and divers others.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

The zeal of that duty, and service, which we owe to your Sacred Majesty, and our earnest affection to the good and welfare of this your Realm of *England*, have moved us, in all humility, to beseeke your Royall Majesty, to give us leave to offer to your Princely wisdom, the apprehension, which we and others your faithfull Subjects have conceived

conceived, of the great distempers and dangers now threatening the Church and State, and your Royal Person, and of the fittest meanes by which they may be removed and prevented.

The evils and dangers whereof your Majesty may be pleased to take notice, are these.

1. That your Majesties Sacred Person is exposed to hazard, and danger in the present expedition against the Scottish Army; and by occasion of this Warre, your Majesties revenue is much wasted, your Subjects burthened with Coat and conduct of Money, billeting of Soldiers, and other Military charges, and divers rapines and disorders committed in severall parts of this your Realme, by the Soldiers raised for that service, and your whole Kingdome become full of feares and discontents.

2. The sundry innovations in matters of Religion, the Oath and Canons lately imposed upon the Clergie, and other your Majesties Subjects.

3. The great encrease of Poperie, and the employing of Popish Recusants, and others ill-affected to the Religion by Lawes established; in places of power and trust, especially in commanding of Men, and Arms, both in the Field, and sundry Counties of this your Realm, whereas by Law they are not permitted to have any Armes in their own houses.

4. The great mischiefs which may fall upon this Kingdome, if the intentions which have been credibly reported of bringing in Irish and forrain Forces, should take effect.

5. The urging of Ship-money, and prosecution of some Sheriffs in the Star-chamber for not levying of it.

6. The heavy charge upon Merchandise, to the discouragement of Trade, the multitude of Monopolies, and other Patents whereby the Commodities and Manufactures of the Kingdome are much bur-

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thened, to the great and universal grievance of your People.

7. The great grief of your subjects, by long intermission of Parliaments, and the late and former dissolving of such, as have been called, without the happy effects which otherwise they might have produced.

For remedie whereof, and prevention of the dangers that may arise to your Royal Person, and to the whole State; they doe in all humilitie and faithfulness beseeke your most Excellent Majesty, that you would be pleased to summon a Parliament within some convenient time, whereby the causes of these, and other great grievances which your People lie under, may be taken away, and the Authors and Counsellors of them may be there brought to such legal trial, and condign punishment, as the nature of their severall offences shall require. And that the present War may be composed by your Majesties wisdom without blood, in such manner as may conduce to the Honor and safetie of your Majesties Person, the comfort of your People, and the uniting of both your Realms against the common Enemy of the Reformed Religion. And your Majesties Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Concluded the 28. of
August, 1640.

Francis Bedford
Robert Essex
Mulgrave
Say & Seal
Edward Howard

William Hartford
Warwick
Ballingbrook
Mandevil
Brook
Pages.

The

The Kings Answer.

Before the receipt of your Petition, his Majesty well fore-saw the danger that threatens himself and Crown ; and therefore resolved the 24. of this moneth to summon all the Peers, and with them to consult, what in this case is fittest to be done, for his own Honor, and safety of the Kingdome, where they with the rest may offer any thing that may conduce to these ends.

According to this resolution, the Lord Keeper had directions from the King to issue out writs of Summons for their appearance at York on the 24. day of September, which he punctually pursued.

Soon after the presenting of this Petition from the Lords, came another from the Scots, the substance whereof was a desire, that his Majesty would call a Parliament, for settling a firm peace between the two Nations.

To this Petition the King, reply'd ; with signification of what he had ordered before in reference to the welfare of himselfe and both Kingdomes.

And it was high time for an accommodation to be effected, for Lesly now began to rant it in New-castle, and the patts adjacent, as Brennus did at Rome, with a *Va Victis* : he imposed a tax of three hundred and fifty pound *per diem* upon the Bishoprick of Durham, and three hundred pound upon Northumberland, upon pain of plundering, and yet permitted souldiers to rife houses, break up shops, and act what insolencies they pleased, seized upon four great English ships laden with corn, as lawful Prize, they not knowing in whose possession the Town was, till they entered the Haven.

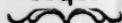
The Scottish
oppression in
Northumber-
land.

The first day of the Lords assembling at York, it was resolved that a Parliament should be summoned to convene November the 3. Then a message was sent to the Scots, desiring a speedy Treaty at York. The Scots reply'd they held that no place of security for their Commissioners, considering that he (the Lieutenant of Ireland) who commanded his Majesties Army, was one

A treaty be-
tween the En-
glish and
Scottish.

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who had proclaimed them Traitors in *Ireland*, before the *King* had done the same in *England*, and who had threatened to destroy their Nation both *root and branch*. And against whom, as a chief Incendiary of the late troubles, they intended to complain. Hereupon it was concluded that the Treaty should be held at *Rippon*. The place being agreed upon, the next stage of resolutions was to the nomination of persons thought fit to treat, which being determined, and assented to on both sides, and the *Commissioners* met to fall upon consultation, the *Scots* took exceptions at the Earl of *Traquairs* being present at their debates, he being not nominated either by the *King* or *Parliament* of *Scotland* as a Commissioner; whereof the *King* being advertised, and advising with his Council, this answer resulted from them, *That though the Earl was not authorised to treat as a Commissioner, nor to Vote in the debates; yet was it very reasonable he should be present, in regard all things which require debate, as the Lawes and Customes of the Kingdom of Scotland, and all Passages of the Assembly and Parliament (to which the English Commissioners are strangers) are best known to him.* This answer being returned, the *Scots* superseded from further opposition in that subject, so that the Commissioners fell directly upon their employment.

The first thing propounded by the *English*, was a Cessation of Arms: but the *Scots* said many other things were to be of antierour consideration. As their affairs stood, untill they had obtained what they came for, home they must not return; and forward they durst not advance, his Majesty having commanded the contrary, so that there was an urgent necessity of their continuing their present quarters, which they were unable to doe, unlesse some way were stated for their subsistence: Againe, some particulars were to be predetermined of. necessary relation to the Treaty; therefore *October* the 2. they presented the *English* Lords with these subsequent Demands.

The Scots demands.

“ 1. We desire your Lordships to take into your considerations, how our Army shall be maintained untill the Treaty be ended, and our peace secured.

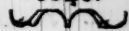
“ 2. If a greater number of Commissioners be required, that a convoy be granted for their safe arrivall.

“ 3. A safe convoy for all Letters from us to the Parliament, and from them to us.

“ 4. That for the benefit of both Kingdomes, there may be a free commerce; and that the common trade of New-castle be not hindered, but especially for vituals.

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The first of these demands seemed very harsh to the *English*, who thought it most unreasonable to maintain the *Scots* at such a time, when the Kings Army was in more distresse: but the sword oft gives Law to reason; so when accosted by sturdy beggers, our fear is more liberall then our charity. and to deny the Scots any thing, considering their armed posture, was interpreted the way to give them all, upon which apprehension our Commissioners applied themselves very sedulously to such results, as did both comply with their demands, and were serviceable to the ease and quiet of the oppressed Countries, these were formed into thirteen Articles, and agreed upon the 16 of *October*.

These previous obstructions being thus removed, the Commissioners next proceeded to the Treaty of Cessation, which after several debates produced, *October 26.* these ensuing Articles, and were after signed by his Majesty.

1. That there be a Cessation of Armes, both by Sea and Land, from this present.

2. That all acts of Hostility doe henceforth cease.

3. That both parties shall peaceably return, during the Treaty, whatsoever they possesse at the time of the Cessation.

4. That all such persons who lived in any of his Majesties Forts beyond the River of Tees, shall not exempt their lands which lye within the Shunties of Northumberland and the Bishoprick, from such contributions as shall be laid upon them for the payment of eight hundred and fifty pounds *per diem*.

5. That none of the Kings Forces upon the other side of Tees, shall give any impediment to such contributions, as are already allowed for the competency of the Scotch Army, and shall fetch no victualls nor forrage out of their bounds, except that which the Inhabitants and Owners thereof shall bring voluntarily unto them, and that any restraints or detention of Victualls, Cattle, or Forrage which shall be made by the Scots within those bounds for their maintenance, shall be no breach.

6. That no recrate shall be brought into either Armies, from the time of cessation, and during the Treaty.

7. That the contribution of eight hundred and fifty pounds

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pounds *per diem*, shall be onely raised out of the Counties of Northumberland, Bishoprick, Town of New-castle, Cumberland, and Westmerland: and that the not payment thereof, shall be no breach of the Treaty, but the Countries and Townes shall be left to the Scots power to raise the same, but not to exceed the summe agreed upon, unlesse it be for charges of driving, to be set by a prizer of the Forrage.

8. That the River of Tees shall be the bounds of both Armies, (excepting alwayes the Town and Castle of Stockton, and the Village of Eglyssiff) and the Countries of Northumberland and Bishoprick be the limits, within which the Scottish Army is to reside, having liberty for them to send such convoyes as shall be necessary for the gathering up only of the contribution, which shall be unpaid by the Counties of Northumberland and Cumberland.

9. That if any person commit any private insolence, it shall be no breach of our Treaty, if, upon complaint made by either parties, reparation and punishment be granted.

10. If victuals be desired upon the price which shall be agreed upon, and ready money offered for the same, and refused, it shall be no breach of the Cessation to take such victuals, paying such prices.

11. No new Fortifications to be made during the Treaty, against either parties.

12. That the Subjects of both Kingdomes may in their Trade of commerce freely passe to and fro, without any stay at all, but it is particularly provided, that no member of either Army, passe without a formal Passe, under the hands of the Generall, or of him that commands in chief.

That the Lieutenant of *Ireland* went also along, deserves a memoriall by it selfe, as the greatest piece of Imprudence he was ever guilty of in all his life, and the greater, because it had so farall an influence upon his life. What the Scots had in designe against him, they

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they had already verbally declared, if not the language of their actions was expresse enough; a faire warning for him to seek some place of more secure retreat, & *Ireland* especially, where he had the temptation of well-disciplin'd Soldiers ready to obey his command, and attend his conduct. Had he observed the dictates of this advantage, and stood upon a military defence, possibly he might have fought them into other resolutions; and had he been defeated, yet might he then have resorted for refuge to some foreign Land; whereas his repair to *London* was in effect, a rendring up of himselfe captive to the will of his deadliest enemies, that City being now turned perfect *Scotch*, and (as to inclination) more theirs then his Majesties Subjects. Two things may be said in his excuse: First, he was opinionated of his owne Innocence, and Innocence usually makes men bold and daring. True, but not alwaies safe. For where ignorance, malice prepossessed, selfe-interest, passion, all or any one invades the throne of Justice (a thing not very rare) the just man runs a great hazard of unjust sentence. Againe, flight imports a seeming faultinesse: True this also, and so doth Condemnation, under which, though never so injurious, the guiltlesse suffer as guilty. And therefore it is the greater wisdom, and not the greater blemish, where both are at election, to live, then dye a suspected Delinquent.

This Treaty at *Rippon* was but the preparation, to another of higher import, for the time being far spent, and the *Scots* chief demands to be considered of, the Lords by consent of the *Scots* became humble suitors to his Majesty, that the general Treaty should be transferred to *London*, to which the King agreed. Hostility being thus laid to sleep, between us and *Scotland*, the King and Lords posted to *London*.

One thing very remarkable may here have a commodious situation. *James* Earl of *Montrose* having long and faithfully adhered to the Covenanters, began at length, as he thought, to smell out the rancidity, and ill savour of their intentions, and that they really minded nothing lesse then what they so solemnly professed, *The Honour of his Majesty, and preservation of Religion*; no sooner did this apprehension seize upon him, then he meditated disengagement; but finding the work would require his best artifice, he dissembled his intent a good while, seemed as active as before, was the first man of that Army, who in this last expedition set foot on *English* ground; thus studying to appear faithful and forward in petty things; that when time served, he might betray them to better purpose; but the *Scots* marching over the *Tine* lesse disturbed then he expected, he was much disappointed, of that opportunity he so longingly attended, yet kept the same loyal inclinations toward the King; which taking advantage of the Treaty, he found means to notifie to his Majesty by letters, where-

The Earl of
Montrose declines from the
Covenanters.

Ap. Christi
1640.

The Kings
pockets rifled.

in he professed his fidelity and most ready obedience to him; these letters were by some of the Kings Bedchamber-men, the supposed instruments of *Hamilton*, secretly taken out of his Majesties pocket in the night, copyed out, and communicated to the Covenanters at *New-castle*, who concealing their information, did not with all conceal their malignity against the Earl, but laboured all they could to render him odious to the people, and thereby unserviceable to his Majesty. This rifling of his Majesties pockets (worse then of his Coffers) was not the first experiment made upon him in that kinde, but of too familiar practise, to the betraying of his most secret Counsels, so that the *Archbishop of Canterbury* writing to the King concerning the plot against him discovered by *Andreas ab Hiabernfeld* puts in this caution, concerning those letters; *Sir, I beseech you trust not your own Pockets with them.* Tacitely hinting what Legerdmain had been formerly exercised upon the Kings Pockets.

The Parliament was approaching, whose convening was attended by this Kingdome with so much longing, such impatience of desires, as every moment which retarded it, was interpreted a kinde of grievance to the subject: for we began now to thinke nothing could make us happy but a Parliament, and that no Parliament could make us miserable: this was the sense of the greater part of this Nation, and if this Parliament succeeded not adequate to some mens vote, perhaps the miscarriage of their hopes may be somewhat imputed to this sense. Over-ruling Providence delights oft to order the operations of Agents, both free and natural, counter to mans expectation, to teach us the vanity of that Faith, which is founded upon causes subaltern.

The Parlia-
ment sit.

Tuesday *November* the 3. being the day prefixt, and the Parliament assembled, his Majesty spake;

My

An. Christi
1640.

My Lords,

‘ The knowledge that I have of the *Scottish*
‘ Subjects, was the cause of my calling of the
‘ last Assembly of *Parliament*, wherein if I had
‘ been believed, I doe most sincerely think that
‘ things had not faln as we now see; but it is no
‘ wonder that men are so slow to believe, that
‘ so great a sedition should be raised upon so
‘ little ground. But now (my *Lords* and
‘ *Gentlemen*) the honour and safety of this
‘ Kingdome lying so heavily at stake, I am
‘ resolved to put my selfe freely upon the love
‘ and affections of my *English* Subjects, as those
‘ of my Lords that waited upon me at *York* very
‘ well remember I there declared.

‘ Therefore (my Lords) I shall not mention
‘ mine owne interest, or that support I might
‘ justly expect from you till the common safe-
‘ ty be secured: though I must tell you, I am
‘ not ashamed to say, those charges I have been
‘ at, have been meerly for the securing and
‘ good of this Kingdome; though the succeſſe
‘ hath not been answerable to my desires.
‘ Therefore I shall onely desire you to consider
‘ the best way both for the safety and security
‘ of this Kingdome, wherein there are two
‘ things chiefly considerable; First, the cha-
‘ sing out of the *Rebells*. And secondly, that
‘ other,

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other, in satisfying your just grievances,
 wherein I shall promise you to concur so
 heartily and clearly with you, that all the
 world may see my intentions have ever been,
 and shall be to make this a glorious and flourish-
 ing Kingdom. There are only two things
 more that I shall mention to you. The one
 is to tell you, that the Loan of money which I
 lately had from the City of *London*, wherein
 the Lords who waited on me at *York* assisted
 me, will only maintain my Army for two
 months from the beginning of that time it
 was granted. Now (my Lords and Gen-
 tlemen) I leave it to your consideration, what
 dishonour and mischief it might be, in case
 for want of money my Army be disbanded,
 before the *Rebels* be put out of this King-
 dome. Secondly, the securing of the cala-
 mities the Northern people endure at this
 time; and so long as the Treaty is on foot.
 And in this I may say not onely they, but all
 this Kingdom will suffer the harm, therefore
 I leave this also to your consideration. For
 the ordering of the great affairs whereof you
 are to Treat at this time; I am so confi-
 dent of your love, to me, and that your care
 is such for the honour and safety of the King-
 dom, that I should freely leave to you where
 to begin: onely this, that you may the bet-
 ter

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1640.

ter know the state of all affairs, I have com-
manded my Lord *Keeper* to give you a
short and free account of those things that
have happened in this *interim*, with this Pro-
testation, that if his account be not satisfac-
tory, as it ought to be, I shall whensoever
you desire it, give you a full and perfect ac-
count of every particular. One thing more
I desire of you, as one of the greatest means
to make this an happy Parliament, that you
on your parts, as I on mine, lay aside su-
spicion one of another, as I promised my
Lords at *York*, it shall not be my fault
if this be not an happy and good Parlia-
ment.

The King having ended, the Lord *Keeper*, in persuance of his
Majesties commands, gave them a summary relation of all things
relating to the Scottish Invasion, I dare not say Rebellion, for
that the King represented them under that disgustfull character,
was very ill resented by some considerable persons, whereof his
Majesty having notice, told the Parliament two dayes after, *He*
must needs call them Rebels, so long as they have an Army that doe in-
vade England.

The remainder of that week was spent partly in setting Commit-
tees for generall Grievances, and partly in set speeches, Rhetorically
declaiming against, and dissecting them.

Munday being the 9. of *November*, Petitions came thronging
in from all Counties of the Kingdome, craving redresse of the
late generall exorbitances both in *Church* and *State*, as also from
particular persons who had smarted under the lash of the Star-
Chamber, Councell-Table, and High Commission Court.
November the 10. these Petitions were delivered to Grand
Committees, and divers ordered to be enlarged out of Pri-
sons, to make their defences, especially *Prynne*, *Bastwick*, and
Burton.

In the House of Lords, *November* the 10. there was a com-
plaint made that their priviledges had been temerated and in-
fringed, by the search of the Earle of *Warwicks*, and the Lord

Several Petiti-
ons against
Grievances.

Priviledges of
the Lords.
House violated

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1640.

The Lieuten-
ant of Ire-
land impeach-
ed of Treason.

The Northern
Armies in
want.

Bishop of Lin-
coln enlarged.

Justice Howard
assaulted by a
Papist.

Brookes studies, Cabinets and Pockets, upon the dissolution of the last Parliament, and Sir *William Beecher* the instrument employed in that action, was sent for to give account by what authority he proceeded, who alleaged he had a warrant therefore from the two Secretaries of State, whereupon he was committed to the Fleet.

The next day Mr. *Pym* was sent from the Commons to the Lords with a message of Impeachment of High Treason, charged upon the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whereupon he was sequestred from the Parliament house, and committed to the Usher of the Black Rod, and in order to his further accusation, Sir *George Ratcliff*, a great confidant of the Lieutenants, and a supposed con- criminary with him, was two dayes after sent for out of *Ireland* by a Serjent at Armes.

The two Armies in the North lay heavy upon those Coun- tries where they quartered, and their pressures were like to en- crease unlesse some supply were speedily dispatcht to them; therefore *Novemb.* the 12. the House resolved upon an 100000 *l.* for their present pay, and untill the monies could be levied by way of Subsidie, they were borrowed of the City of *London* upon interest; divers members of the Parliament engaging for them.

Monday the 16. the Lord Bishop of *Lincoln* was set free of his Imprisonment in the Tower, upon the suit of the House of Peers to his Majesty, and the next day (being a day of Humiliation) he was brought into the Abbey Church by six Bishops, and Officiated there as Dean of *Westminster* before the Lords. The House of Commons assembling according to their ancient mode in St. *Margarets* Church, while the second-service was reading at the Communion Table (sutable to the late and anti- ent practice,) it was disturbed by a Psalmc begun, at which many were amazed.

The *Earl of Strafford* entring now into his state of trans-figu- ration, from the high pitch of honour, to the condition of du- rance, found his friends active and awake to serve him with their best endeavours, in all things relating either to his reputation, or safety. In order to which it was the 19. day precariously moved, 1. That he might be bailed, divers Lords freely tendring themselves to that end; But the Lord *Paget* declared it was against the lawes of the Land, and priviledge of the House, in which opinion the major part of the Peers acquiesced. Then it was prayed he might have Counsel assigned him, and a Solicitor, in regard he was under so strict a restraint. Both which were condescended to.

The 21. one *John James*, son of Sir *Henry James* of *Fe- versham* in *Kent*, a Romish Catholique, stabbed Mr. *Howard*

(a Justice of Peace for *Westminster*) in *Westminster-hall*, to the great hazard of his life. The impulsive to this savage assault, was supposed to be, because Mr. *Howard* had framed a list with the names of such Recusants, as were within the liberties of *Westminster*, which he was to deliver up to the Committee for Religion. Mr. *James* was committed to the Gate-house, and the King sent an expresse to the Commons, that they should proceed severely against him.

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The 28. Mr. *Prinn* and Mr. *Burton* were brought into *London* in great pomp and state, being conducted with many thousands of Horse and Foot, having sprigs of Rosemarine in their hands, to the great dishonour and defying of those Courts, which had passed sentence against them, and Decemb. the 3. were admitted into the house of Commons, to present their Petitions against the Prosecutors.

Prin and Bur-
ton enter Lon-
don in triumph.

The Parliament began now to appear so formidable to all who laboured of any bad character, as the very terror was a kinde of proscription and exile; upon this very score Sir *Francis Windbank*, Secretary of State, having been questioned for repriming Priests, and suspected guilty of worse matters, Decemb. 5. fliely slippt aside into *France*.

Secretary Win-
dbank flyeth.

The 7. it was unanimously voted by the Commons,

" 1. That the charge imposed upon the subject for
" the providing and furnishing of Ships, and the
" Assessements for raising of money for that purpose
" (commonly called Shipmoney) are against the
" Lawes of the Realm, the subjects right and property,
" contrary to the former resolutions in Parliament, and
" the Petition of Right.

Votes against
Ship money.

" 2. That the extra-judiciall opinion of the Judges
" published in the Star-chamber, and enrolled in the
" Courts of Westminster, are in the whole, and every
" part of them, against the Lawes of the Realm, &c.
" *ut prius*.

" 3. That the Writs (commonly called the Shipwrits)
" are against the Lawes of the Realm, &c. *ut prius*.

" 4. That the Judgement in the Exchequer in Mr.
" *Hambdens* case, is as to the matter and substance thereof,
" against the Lawes of the Realm, &c. *ut prius*.

From

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The London
Petition a-
gainst Bishops.

The late Ca-
nons damn'd.

Lord Keeper
Finch defend's
his innocency.

From the damning of the Tax, to the censure of the contrivers of it, the motion is natural, as to a proper consecratory of it ; and this consideration led the Parliament first to fix upon the (so thought) leading man therein, the Lord Keeper *Finch*, and the rest of the Judges ; and accordingly the next day a Committee was appointed to draw up a charge of high Treason against them.

Decemb. the 11. Alderman *Penington* with some hundreds at his heels came to the House of commons, and presented a Petition from the Citizens (not from the City) of *London*, subscribed by 15000. lamentably complaining against the Ecclesiastical Discipline and many ceremonies of the Church of *England*; which raising too much debate for a speedy determination, was transmitted to another time.

The next advance in the work of reformation, was an inspection into the illegality of the late Convocation, and Canons thereof; and upon full hearing of all arguments urged on both sides, the House resolved *Decemb. the 15.* *That the Clergy in a Synod or Convocation hath no power to make Canons, Constitutions or Lawes to bind either Laity or Clergy, without a Parliament;* and the next day voted, *That the Canons are against the fundamental Lawes of this Realm, against the Kings Prerogative, Property of the Subject, the right of Parliaments, and do tend to faction and sedition.*

Dependent upon this Declaration next follows the appointment of a Committee to prepare a charge against the *Archbishop of Canterbury*, as one of prime re-marque in forming of these Canons, and for other supposed Delinquencies: the *Scots* having complicated him with the Earl of *Strafford* in their grand accusation against him (presented to the House of Lords by the Lord *Paget*, *Decemb. the 16.*) under the character of an incendiary in this national difference, and the 18. was voted guilty of high Treason, and committed to the Usher of the black Rod.

The same day there was also a select Committee nominated, to inquire into the branches of the privileges of Parliament, by the commitment of several members 4. *Caroli*, as Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Mr. *Grew*, &c.

The Lord Keeper *Finch* observed himselfe to stand upon a very tickle point, and taking notice of what was preparing against him, thought it the best way to mollifie the rumours of discontent against him, if his Defence did anticipate the Commons charge, in Order to which the 21. he made an elegant and quaint Oration tending to the Vindication of himselfe in every particular, but notwithstanding all his incantations of Rhetorique, the Commons stood fixt and immoveable, and that very day voted him a Traitor upon these considerations :

1. For

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Is voted traitor.

1. For refusing to read the Remonstrance against the Lord Treasurer Weston 4. Caroli, when the Parliament desired it.
2. For soliciting, perswading and threatning the Iudges to deliver their opinions for levyng of Ship-money.
3. For several illegal actions in Forest matters.
4. For ill offices done, in moving the King to dissolve the last Parliament, and causing his Majesties Declaration thereupon to be put forth.

The next day he was accused before the Lords, but he was early up, and before day gave justice the slip, withdrawing to a more habitable Region.

The distempers of our state, both Ecclesiastical and Political, were eminently derived from the long dis-use of Parliaments, which are in truth the strongest ligaments of the relation Paramount betwixt King and People: for where a correspondency necessary to their joynt interest, is over-long dis-continued, there must needs be generated from that dis-acquaintance, many mis-understandings between, much diffidence of each other, and passions severed, and not determined to publique concernments. To encounter which inconvenience, the Parliament were now modelling a Bill for a Trienniall Parliament, and at the same time Petitions came thronging one upon the neck of another, from severall Counties, and one subscribed by 700. Presbyters, against the Hierarchy of Bishops, which finding a reception in the House disagreeable to his Majesties sense, he called both Houses together, Jan. 23. at which time he first minded them of their slow proceedings, and the inconveniences emerging there-from.

As first, the maintaining of two Armies in the Kingdome, at a charge so excessive.

Next, the weak condition of his Navy, and Forts whereby his enemies are much encouraged, and his friends dis-heartned.

F f

After

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The Kings
Speech, for Bi-
shops.

After which, he said ;

I Cannot but take notice of some very strange Petitions, given in the name of severall Counties, against the present established Government of the Church, and of the great threats that Bishops shall be no better then Cyphers, if not clear done away. Now I must tell you that I make a difference between Reformation and Alteration of Government : though I am for the first, I cannot give way to the latter. I will not say but that the Bishops may have over-stretched their power, and encroached upon the Temporal, which if you will correct, and reforme the abuse, according to the wisdom of former times, so far I am with you. Nay further, if upon serious debate you shall shew me that Bishops have some temporall authority inconvenient to the State, and not so necessary to the Church for the support of Episcopacy, I shall not be unwilling to perswade them to lay it down. Yet by this you must not understand that I can consent to the taking away their voyce in Parliament, which they have so anciently enjoyed under so many my Ancestors, even before the Conquest, and ever since, and which I conceive I am bound to

to maintain, as one of the fundamental institutions of this Kingdome.

There is another Rock I desire you to eschew, and that not in substance but in form, yet that form is so essential, that except it be reformed it will marre the substance. There is a Bill given in for frequent Parliaments, the thing I like well, that is to say, to have often Parliaments ; but to give power to Sheriffes, and Constables, and I know not whom to do my Office, that I cannot yeeld unto ; but to shew you that I am desirous to please you in formes which destroy not the substance, I am content you shall have an Act for this purpose, but so reformed that it shall never trench upon mine honor, nor on that inseparable Right of my Crown concerning Parliaments. To which purpose I have commanded my learned Counsell to wait on you, my Lords, with such Propositions as I hope will give you content, for I ingenuously confesse, that frequent Parliaments are the best means to performe a right understanding between me and my Subjects.

To conclude, I have now shewed you the state of my clear intentions, and the Rocks I wish you to eschew, in all which you may perceiv the desire I have to give you content, as you shall finde also by those Ministers I

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Goodman a
Priest reprie-
ved.Remonstrance
against Good-
man the Priest.

have and doe intend to imploy in my affaires, for the pursuance of my good intentions, which I doubt not will bring peace and happinesse to my Subjects, to the contentment of us all.

The same day one *Goodman* a Jesuite being condemned at the Sessions at *London*, was reprieved by the King; whereupon *Mr. Glyn* was sent with a message to the *Nobles*, to request their conjunction with them in a Petition to his Majesty, to be informed who should dare to be instrumentall in the retarding of Justice in the face of a Parliament: which being assented to by the Lords, the King by the *Lord Privy Seal*, Jan. 25. signified the cause to be in regard he was found guilty, as being a Priest, upon which score onely, neither his *Father*, nor *Q. Elizabeth* ever exercised the rigour of the Law. This answer gave slender satisfaction to the Commons, so that another conference Jan. 27. was had with the Lords, from which resulted a Remonstrance to his Majesty to this effect.

That, considering the state and condition of this present time, they conceive the Law to be more necessary to be put in strict execution, then at any time before.

First, because by divers Petitions from severall parts of this Kingdome, complaints are made of the great increase of Popery and Superstition, and the People call earnestly to have the Lawes against the Recusants put in execution.

Secondly, Priests and Jesuites swarm in great number in the Kingdome, and appeare here with such boldnesse and confidence, as if there were no Lawes against them.

Thirdly, it appeareth to the House that of late yeares, about the City of London Priests and Jesuites have been discharged out of Prison, many of them being condemned of high Treason.

Fourthly,

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Fourthly, the Parliament is credibly informed, that at this present the Pope hath a Nuncio, or Agent resident in the City, and they have just cause to believe it to be true.

Fifthly, the Papists as publicely, and with as much confidence and importunity resort to Masse at Denmark house, St. James, and the Ambassadors Chappel, as others doe to their Parochial Churches.

Sixthly, there is found already so bad consequence of this Priest, John Goodman his reprieve, that the City of London being solicited by the Parliament for their assistance in the advancement of money, for the supply of his Majesties Army, have absolutely denyed the same, for that very reason, which may become an ill president in the levying of the Subsidies.

Lastly, It is found that this Goodman hath been twice before committed, and discharged, and was somewhile a Minister in the Church of England.

Therefore they humbly desire the said John Goodman, may be left to the Justice of the Law.

To this Remonstrance the King Feb. 3. replied.

That it was against his minde that Popery or Superstition should any way encrease within this Kingdome, that he will restrain the same, by causing the Lawes to be put in execution.

The Kings
Answer.

That he is resolved to provide against Jesuites and Papists by setting forth a Proclamation speedily, commanding them to depart the Kingdome within one moneth, of which if they fail,

Ej 3

or

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or shall return, then they shall be proceeded against according to Law.

Concerning the Popes Nuncio (Rosetti) he hath no Commission, but onely to retain correspondence between the Queen and the Pope, in things requisite for the exercise of her Religion, which is warranted to her by the Articles of marriage, which gave her a full liberty of conscience; yet he hath perswaded her, that since the misunderstanding of that Persons condition gives offence, she will within a time convenient remove him.

Moreover, he will take speciall care to restrain his Subjects from resorting to Masse at Denmark house, St. James's, and the Chappels of Ambassadors.

Lastly, concerning Goodman, because he will avoid the inconvenience of giving so great discontent to his People, as his mercy may produce, therefore he doth remit his particular case to both Houses. But he desired them to take into their considerations, the inconveniences that may upon this occasion fall upon his Subjects, and other Protestants abroad, especially since it may seem to other States to be a severity.

The Scots Army having posselt such ample and five moneths quarters in this Kingdome, it may seem a wonder that all this while their affaires have not been assigned agreeable quarters in

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in this Narration, especially perpendig, and considering the grand complication of interests, and how relative our highest concerns were to their present posture. A preterition, an omission, studiously and deliberately resolved upon; a compartment distinct and by it selfe, best sorting with such transactions, where the series of the story is not enterlined nor disturbed with matters independent, and of a different kinde. I shall therefore summarily collect all those severall parcels of by-past occurrences, which had reference to them, not forgetting the true temporalities wherein they did emerge.

What passed at the Treaty at *Rippon* hath been already mentioned, which onely produced a respite, a cessation of Hostility; a plenary Pacification it could not effect: this was reserved for a Treaty at *London* to form; in order to which the King *Novemb:* the 23. issued forth a Commission to the former Lords, the Earls of *Bedford, Hartford, Essex, Salisbury, Warwick, Bristow, Holland* and *Berkshire*; to the Lords *Wharton, Paget, Kimbolton, Brook, Paulet, Howard of Effrick, Savil and Dunsmore*, to any ten or more of them, to treat with the *Scotish* Commissioners, or any seven of them, being the Earles of *Rosbes* and *Dumfermling*, *John Lord Lowden*, *Sir Patrick Hepburn*, *Sir William Douglas*, *William Drummond*, *John Smith* Bailiff of *Edenburgh*, *Alexander Wedderburn*, *Hugh Kennedy*, *Alexander Henderson*, and *Archibald Johnston*, to take into consideration their Demands, and compose all differences arising thereupon: in pursuance of which Commission, these particulars were demanded and assented to.

The Scotish Commissioners demanded,

“First, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased
“to command, that the Acts of the late Parliament may
“be published in his Highnesse name, as our Sovereigne
“Lord, with consent of the Estates of Parliament, con-
“vened by his Majesties authority.

i. Demand.

To this it is answered, and agreed 30. *Decembri* 1640. That forasmuch as the Kings Majesty at the humble desire of his Subjects, did call and convene a Parliament to be holden at *Edenburgh*, the 2. of *June* 1640. wherein certain Acts were made and agreed upon; which Acts his Majesty is pleased to publish in his owne name with the consent of the Estates, and therefore commands that the said Acts bearing date the 2. day of

Ans.

June

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1640.

June 1640. be published with the Acts to be made in the next Session of the same Parliament, and that all the said Acts, as well of the precedent, as of the next Session to be holden, have in all time coming the strength of Lawes, and to be obeyed by all the Subjects of the Kingdome of Scotland.

2. Demand.

“Secondly, that the Castle of Edinburgh, and other
“strengths of the Kingdome should with the advice of
“the Estates of Parliament, according to their first
“foundation, be furnished and used for defence and se-
“curity of the Kingdome.

Answ.

It is agreed unto.

3. Demand.

“Thirdly, that Scottishmen within his Majesties Do-
“minions of England and Ireland, may be freed from
“censure for subscribing the Covenant, and be no more
“pressed with Oathes and subscriptions unwarranted by
“their Lawes, and contrary to their Nationall Oath and
“Covenant approved by his Majesty.

Answ.

It is agreed Decemb. the 8. 1640. that all those who in his Majesties Dominions of *England* and *Ireland* have been imprisoned or censured any way for subscribing of the Covenant, or for refusing to take any other Oath contrary to the same, shall be freed of these censures, and shall be fully restored to their Liberties, Estates and Possessions; And for the time coming, that the Subjects of *Scotland*, as Subjects of *Scotland*, shall not be constrained to any Oath, contrary to the Lawes of that Kingdome, and the Religion there established; But such of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, as shall transport themselves into the Kingdome of *England* or *Ireland*, and there be settled Inhabitants, either by way of having inheritance or freehold, or by way of settled Trades, shall be Subject to the Lawes of *England* or *Ireland*, and to the Oathes established by the Lawes and Acts of Parliament in the said Kingdomes respectively, wherein they live. And the *English* and *Irish* shall have the like privilege in *Scotland*.

“Fourthly,

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4. Demand.

“ Fourthly, that his Majesty would be pleased to declare, that whosoever shall be found, upon Triall and Examination by the Estates of either of the two Parliaments, (they judging against the persons subject to their own authority) to have been the Authors and causers of the late and present Troubles, and Combustions, whether by labouring to make and foment Division betwixt the King and his People, or betwixt the two Nations, or any other way; shall be liable to Censure of the said Parliaments respectively.

It is answered *December* the 11. 1640. That his Majesty believeth he hath none such about him; therefore, concerning that point, he can make no other Declaration then that he is just, and that all his Courts of Justice are to be free and open to all men Our Parliament in this Kingdome is now sitting, and the current Parliament of *Scotland*, neer approaching the time of their meeting; In either of which *Respective*, he doth not prohibite the Estates to proceed in trying and judging of whatsoever his Subjects.

Ans.

And whereas it was further demanded that none after the sentence of the Parliament should have access to his Majesty, or be maintained or enjoy places, or offices, and have credit or authority to inform or advise his Majesty;

It is declared in his Majesties name, *December* the 30. 1640. That he will not imploy any Person or Persons in Office or Place, that shall be judged incapable by sentence of Parliament. Nor will he make use of their service without the consent of Parliament, nor grant them access to his Person.

“ Fifthly, that their Ships and Goods, and all damages thereof may be restored.

5. Demand.

It is agreed *January* the 7. 1640. That all ships taken and stayed should be reciprocally restored on both sides. And that the Scottish Commissioners having informed that about eighty ships of *Scotland* are yet stayed in the Ports, and are like to suffer much losse if they shall not be delivered into some hands who may have care of them. It is agreed that warrants shall be

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presently granted for delivery of all their Ships. And that four thousand pounds be presently advanced, for Cauking, Sailes, Cordage and other necessaries, for helping the present setting forth of the said Ships.

6. Demand.

‘Sixthly, they desire from the justice and the kindness of the Kingdome of *England*, Reparation concerning the losses which the Kingdome of *Scotland* hath sustained, and the vast charges they have been put unto by occasion of the late troubles.

In this demand some did note in the *Scots* a tincture of oblivion, if not of ingratitude, for the service *England* did them in what they call their first Reformation, towards which work our Nation was so auxiliary, so assistant, yet at the end brought them in no Bill of Charges. It was also noted that they entitled these demands to *Justice*, which some interpreted to imply that they came hither upon the invitation of eminent persons of this Nation; it was supposed, and very like, of *Pym*, and *Hambden*. And though these Demands were not definitive nor terminated in any particular sum, yet did they compute their Losses and expences to 514000. *l.* a formidable and prodigious sum, more then ever was granted by the Subject to any King at once. This Demand took up long debate in the House of Commons, and at last Feb. the 3. this answer was returned.

Ans^r.

That this House thinks fit that a friendly assistance, and relief shall be given towards supply of the losses of the *Scots*, and that the Parliament did declare that they did conceive that the sum of three hundred thousand pounds is a fit proportion for the friendly assistance and relief formerly thought fit to be given towards supply of the losses and necessities of their *BRETHREN* of *Scotland*, and that the House would in due time take into consideration the manner how, and the time when, the same shall be raised.

‘Seventhly,

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7. Demand.

‘Seventhly, that as his Majesty hath approved the
‘Acts of the late Parliament, wherein all such Decla-
‘rations, Proclamations, Books, Libels and Pamphlets
‘that have been made, written and published against his
‘Loyal and dutifull Subjects of *Scotland*, are recalled, and
‘ordered to be suppressed: So his Majesty may be pleased
‘to give order that the same may be suppressed, recalled
‘and forbidden in *England* and *Ireland*; and that the Loy-
‘alty, integrity and faithfulness of his Majesties Subjects
‘of *Scotland*, towards his Majesties royal Person and
‘Government may at the closing of this treaty of Peace,
‘and at the time of Publique Thanks-giving for the
‘same, be made known in all places and all Parish
‘Churches of his Majesties Dominions.

It is agreed upon the 10. of *February* 1640. That all De-
clarations, Proclamations, Acts, Books, Libels and Pamphlets
that have been made and published against the Loyalty and du-
tiffulness of his Majesties Subjects of *Scotland*, shall be recalled
suppressed and forbidden in *England* and *Ireland*. And that this be
reciprocal in *Scotland*, if any such have been made or published
there in prejudice of his Majesties honour. And this upon
diligent enquiry to be done by the Authority of Parliament next
sitting in *Scotland*, of which the Commissioners of *Scotland* do
promise to have an especial care. And we do also agree, that
when it shall please Almighty God to grant an happy close of
this Treaty of Peace, the Loyalty of his Majesties Subjects of
Scotland shall be made known at the time of publique *Thanks-*
giving, in all places, and particularly in the Parish Churches of
his Majesties Dominions.

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8. Demand.

A match propounded betwixt the Lady Mary and Prince of Orange.

The Kings Speech to the Lords about it.

‘ That all Monumentts, Tokens and shewes of Hostility upon the borders of the two Kingdomes may be taken away. That not onely the Garrisons of *Barwick* and *Carlile* may be removed, but that the works may be slighted and the Places dismantled.

To this Demand, being offered but the 12. of this month, no answer was as yet returned.

Unhappy *Counsels* have of late put the King out of possession of his Subjects affections, resolved he was no opportunity should escape him which might promote his re-endeerement with them; upon which inducement being lately solicited by the *Dutch Ambassadors* for a match between *William* the young Prince of *Orange* and the Lady *Mary* his daughter, and he inclined to entertain it, yet would he not make any conclusion therein, untill he had assumed the Parliament as Partners in his consultations, whereupon Feb. 10. he thus imparted his mind to the Lords :

My Lords,

‘ That freedome and confidence which I expressed at the beginning of this Parliament, to have of your love and fidelity towards my Person and estate, hath made me at this time come hither to acquaint you with that Alliance and Confederacy which I intend to make with the *Prince of Orange*, and the States, which before this time I did not think expedient to do, because that part which I do desire your advice and assistance upon, was not ready to be treated on. I will not trouble you with a long digression, by shewing the steps of this Treaty, but leave you to be satisfied in that by those who under me do manage that affair. Only I shall shew
‘ you

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‘you the reasons which have induced me to
‘it, and in which I expect your assistance
‘and counsel. The Considerations that have
‘induced me to it are these.

‘First the matter of *Religion*, here needs
‘no dispensatiou, no fear that my Daughters
‘conscience may be any way perverted.

‘Secondly, I do esteem that a strict Alliance
‘and Confederacy with the States will be as
‘useful to this Kingdome, as that with any of
‘my Neighbours, especially considering their
‘affinity, neighbour-hood and way of their
‘strength.

‘And lastly, (which I must never forget in
‘these occasions) the use I may make of this
‘Alliance towards the establishing of my *Sister*
‘and *Nephewes*.

‘Now to shew you in what I desire your
‘assistance, you must know that the Articles of
‘Marriage are in a manner concluded, but not
‘to be totally ratified untill that of Alliance be
‘ended, and agreed, which before I demanded
‘your assistance, I did not think fit to enter
‘upon. And that I may not leave you too
‘much at large how to begin that Counsel,
‘I present you here the Propositions which
‘are offered by me to the States Ambassa-
‘dours for that intent. And so my Lords I
‘shall only desire you to make as much expe-
‘dition

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1640.

Plots of the
Papists.Plots of the
Papists.Judge Berkly
impeache of
high TreasonThe King
passeth the Bill
for the Trienni-
al Parliament.His Speech
concerning it.

'dition in your Councils, as so great a busines
'shall require, and shall leave your Lordships
'to your own free debate.

No one proposition of his Majesty, since the first sitting of this Parliament, was so generally passant in both Houses as this, none received with greater alacrity, none embraced with so clear a vote, and which was a wonder, in a moment of so many jealousies, no fear of a plot upon either our Liberties or Religion: but the truth is, those feares now resulted from another party, the Romish Catholiques, and by rumours of their plots, the Kingdome was almost perpetually allarm'd, so as

The next day four members of the House of Commons were sent up to the Lords with a message, importing the discovery of a great designe in hand by the Papists, as an Army of 15000. in *Lancashire*, and 8000. in *Ireland*, with many thousands in other places well armed, and in pay, raised by the Earl of *Straford*, Earl of *Worcester* and others.

Feb. 23. Sir *Robert Berkly* was accused by a motion of the Commons of high Treason, and by the Usher of the black Rod taken the next day from his seat in the *Kings Bench*, and carryed away under the notion of his prisoner.

The Bill for the Triennial Parliaments having past both Houses was animated with the Royall assent *Feb. the 16.* his Majesty minding the Parliament of the grandure of this Grace, and what he expected in way of gratitude from them, in these words.

My Lords,

'And you the Knights, Citizens, and
'Burgesses of the House of Commons; you
'may remember when both Houses were
'with me at the Banquetting house at *White-*
'*hall*, I did declare unto you two Rocks I
'wished you to shun, this is the one of them,
'and of that consequence that I think never
'Bill passed here in this House of more favour
'to the Subject then this is: And if the other
'Rock

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‘Rock, be as happily past over, as this shall
‘be at this time ; I doe not know what you
‘can aske, for ought I can see at this time, that
‘I can make any question to yeild unto. There-
‘fore I mention this to shew unto you the sense
‘I have of this Bill, and the Obligation, as I
‘may say, that you have to me for it; for
‘hitherto (to speak freely) I had no great en-
‘couragement to doe it.

‘If I should look to the outward face of your
‘actions, or proceedings, and not to the inward
‘intentions of your hearts, I might make questi-
on of doing it.

‘Hitherto you have gone on in that which
‘concernes your selves to amend, and not in
‘those things that meerly concern the strength
‘of this Kingdome, neither for the State nor
‘mine own particular.

‘This I mention, not to reproach you, but to
‘shew you the state of things as they are, you
‘have taken the Government all in pieces, and
‘I may say it is almost off the Hinges. A skil-
‘full VVatch-maker to cleanse his VVatch
‘will take it a sunder, and when it is put toge-
‘ther it will goe better, so that he leaves not out
‘one pin of it.

‘Now as I have done all this on my part,
‘you know what to do on yours; and I hope
‘you shall see clearly that I have performed
‘really

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‘really, what I expressed to you at the begin-
‘ning of this Parliament, of the great trust I
‘have of your affections to me; and this is the
‘great exprefion of trust, that before you doe
‘any thing for me, I doe put such a confidence
‘in you.

At the same time he signed also the Bill of Subsidies, both which Acts were so pleasing to the Parliament, that upon a conference between both Houses it was unanimously agreed to wait upon his Majesty at *White-hall*, and by the Lord Keeper (Sir *Edward Littleton*) to return him their humble thanks. And that night Bonfires and other tokens of joy were made in the City by order of the Parliament.

The Arch-
bishop accused
of high Tre-
son.

February the 26. the Archbishops charge compounded of 14. Articles was preferred in the Lords House by Mr. *Pym*, whereupon he was ordered to the Tower, but upon his humble sute to the Lords, his Commitment thither was respited untill *March* the first.

But these proceedings against him did not give plenary satisfaction to all, most cryed aloud for a Reformation in the Hierarchy it selfe, many would detrench from them their secular power and votes in Parliament, nay some were male-content unlesse the whole order were eradicated; and this was now vehemently pressed by the City Petition, now under consideration of the Committee: a mighty debate there was about this time in the House of Commons upon this Subject, and no arguments omitted which might officiate to either end; amongst the rest Episcopacy had not a faster friend, nor the City Petition a stouter Antagonist, then the Lord *Digby*, who spake for the one and against the other, no man to better purpose, and summarily thus;

The Lord
Digbys Speech
for Episcopacy.

That he looked not upon that Petition, as a Petition from the City of London, but from he knew not what 15000. Londoners, all that could be got to subscribe. That therein he discovered a mixture of things Contemptible, Irrational, and Presumptuous.

Contemptible. Did ever any man thinke that the fables of Ovid, or Tom Coriats newes, should by 15000. have



have been presented to a Parliament as a motive for the extirpation of Bishops; For the scandal of the Rocket, the Lawn sleeves, the Four-cornered Cap, the Cope, the Surplice, the Hood, the Canonickall Coat, &c. may passe as Arguments of the same weight. He did not know whether it were more preposterous to inferre the extirpation of Bishops from such weak arguments, or to attribute, as they doe, to Church-Government all the Civil grievances. Not a Patent, not a Monopoly, not the price of a Commodity raised, but these men make Bishops the cause of it.

Irrational. A Petition ought to be like a kind of syllogism, the Conclusion the Prayer, ought to hold proportion with the Premisses, that is, with the Complaints, and to be deduced from them: but in this Petition there was a multitude of Allegations, of Instances, of Abuses, and depravations in Church Government; and what is thence inferred? Let the use be utterly abolished for the abuses sake. For the moveables sake to take away the solid good of a thing, is just as reasonable, as to root up a good tree, because there is a Canker in the Branches.

Presumptuous. What greater boldnesse can there be, than for Petitioners to prescribe to a Parliament what and how it should doe? for a multitude to teach a Parliament what is, and what is not, the Government according to Gods word? Again, it is high presumption to Petition point-blank against a Government in force by Law; the honour of former Acts must be upheld, because all the reverence we expect from future times to our own Acts, depends upon our supporting the dignity of former Parliaments.

He said, Wee all agree that a Reformation of Church Government is most necessary: But to strike at the root he can never give his vote, before three things were cleared to him.

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First, That no rule, no boundaries can be set to Bishops able to restrain them from such exorbitancies.

Secondly, Such a frame of Government must be laid before us, as no time, no corruption, can make liable to inconveniences proportionable with those we abolish.

Thirdly, Whether the new model is practicable in the State, and consistent with Monarchy.

For the first, he was confident a Triennial Parliament would be a curb sufficient to order them.

For the second, he was also confident, that if we did listen to those who would extirpate Episcopacy, we should in state of every Bishop we put down in a Diocese, set up a Pope in every Parish.

For the last, he was of opinion, that it would be unsafe for Monarchy: for if the Presbyterian Assemblies should succeed, they would assume a power to excommunicate Kings as well as other men. And if Kings came once to be excommunicated, men are not like to care much what becomes of them.

In conclusion, though Episcopacy kept her essentialls still, yet was she much mutilated in her former glory. The House of Commons voting March the 10. That no Bishop shall have any vote in Parliament, nor any judicial power in the Star chamber, nor bear any sway in Temporal affaires, and that no Clergy-man shall be in Commission of the peace.

I am now tending apace to the Earl of Straffords Tryal, in order and relative to which, it will be necessary to premise what antecedently occurred.

The Commons having preferred their Accusation against him, as I said before, a formal charge disposed into Articles was next of course to follow. These at first they digested into 7 heads, which consisting only of generals, were after distributed into 28 particulars; and Jan. the 30. presented by Mr. Pym to the Peers, as their compleat charge against the Earl: who being immediately sent for, and having heard it read, he desired three moneths day to answer; the reason of this desire was after signified

The Charge
against the
Earl of
Strafford is given in.

The Reign of King Charles.

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tyed to the Commons to be, in regard some of the Treasons were of 14. years standing, and could not on the suddain be answered: Again, as his Charge was long, so his Answer must be commensurate, the rough draught whereof being 200. sheets of paper, it could not be engrossed so soon as was desired. Nevertheless the Commons ply'd the Lords with such incessant applications, as he was enforced to finish, and exhibit it to the Lords *Feb.* the 24. when it was read in the Kings audience; and in the House of Commons the next day after.

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The Earls Answer being given in, there ensued several questions, which were the subjects of great debate between the Lords and Commons.

And his Answer.

First, Concerning the allowance of Council. The Commons alledging that in cases of high Treason Council cannot regularly be allowed; which the Lords said was true in pleading matters of fact, not in matters of Law. This was in some sort granted at length by the lower House.

Secondly, Concerning the place of Tryal, the Lords desiring it might be in their own House, but the Commons opposed it, because they intended to manage their accusation by members of their own House in the presence of their whole House; to which purpose the Lords House was thought too little, whereupon *Westminster-hall* was agreed upon.

Lastly, The Commons were moved to declare in what quality they would sit, whether as a full House with their Speaker, or as a Committee only; to which they replied, That they intended to come in the body of their House, which the Lords not assenting to, they at last yielded to come as a Committee.

As *Westminster-hall* was the place, so Monday the 22. of *March* was the first day prefixt of the Earls compearing. Never was there in this Isle a scene of Justice more magnificent reared for any Subject, yea when even Majesty her self received a like sentence from that place, her Trial was nothing so majestique. Scaffolds were erected on either side of the Hall, there the Commons sat uncovered, and in the midst of the lower ascent the Peers; behind, but raised above them, there was placed a Chair and Cloth of State for the King, on either side whereof was a close Gallery for the King, Queen and Prince to be private, suitable to the ancient mode.

Westminster-hal
appointed for
his Tryal,

The Bishops were excluded by ancient Canon Lawes of the Councils of *Toledo* to be assistant in cases of Bloud or Death, as disagreeable to their function; who officiate so much towards the unbloudy sacrifice, as also to ballance the strictnesse of their own interdict, which prohibits Lay-men a vote with them in the Act of Excommunication; this being a Spiritual slaughter, as the

Council. Tolet. a
c. 30. & unde-
cim. c. 6.

Hoc agit in Ec-
clesia Excom-
municatio quod
interfectio. Aug

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other a Corporal. Upon which consideration they absented themselves.

The Earl of *Arundel* was Lord *High Steward*, and the Earl of *Lindsey* Lord *High Constable*. The Earl of *Strafford* being brought to the Bar, the Lord High Steward declared to him, that he was called thither to answer to the impeachment of *High Treason* preferred against him by the Commons of *England* and *Ireland*. Then his Accusation was read, and next his Answer to it, in which most part of that day being spent, the Court arose.

The next day he being brought again to the Bar, the House of Commons began with the first 7. General Articles, declaring how he had subverted the Fundamental Lawes of *England* and *Ireland*; this particular was managed by Mr. *Pym*; next there was a Paper produced sealed, which being opened and read, appeared to be sent from the Parliament in *Ireland*, declaring that the Commons there had voted the Earl guilty of High Treason, whereat the Earl much astonisht and transported with passion, said, *There was a Conspiracy against him to take away his life*. The words were no sooner out of his mouth, then the House of Commons (who stood diligent Sentinels to watch every syllable he spake) required Justice against him, because he standing impeacht of High Treason, accused the Parliaments of two Kingdomes of a conspiracy against him; whereupon he humbly craved pardon for the inconsideratenesse of the expression, protesting seriously he did not thereby intend either Parliament, but some particular persons.

Then Mr. *Pym* moved that whereas there was a discovery made of three Articles more to be annexed to his charge, he might presently be commanded to reply to them; to which the *Lieutenant* answered, that the Proceffe being closed, he hoped he should not be ordered to answer any adventitious and unexpected charge without more convenient time assigned. But upon consideration of the Articles, the *Lords* finding them to be of no great importance, he was urged to a present reply. The Articles were;

New Articles
against the
Earl.

First, That he had withdrawn 24000 l. (some copies have 40000 l.) sterling from the Exchequer in Ireland, and converted to his own use.

Secondly, That in the beginning of his Government the Garrisons of Ireland had been maintained by the English Treasury.

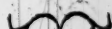
Thirdly,

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Thirdly, That he had advanced Popish and Infamous persons, as the Bishop of Waterford, and others to the prime Roomes in the Church of Ireland.

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To the first he said, That *England* was indebted to *Ireland* that summe, and that he took up the money upon his own Credit, and paid it in again, and that he had the Kings authority for the same, producing his Majesties Letter.

The Earls
Answer.

To the second, That the Garrisons had beene burdensome to *England* in former Deputies times; that he so found them, but that he had so improved the Kings Revenues there, as they were not onerous at all to *England*.

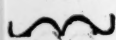
To the last, That he never preferred any but such whom he conceived to be conscientious and honest men; that he could not prophecy of mens future conditions; and for the Bishop of *Waterford* he hath satisfied the Law:

This dayes encounter between the Parliament and Earl seemed a dispute only at wasters, these generals being not impregned with any deadly quality.

The next day, *March* the 24. they fell to sharp, that is to enforce the Particular Articles, in order as they were disposed, which in regard they were the formall principles of the Earls Tragique end, I reserved for this place, wherein I shall so represent them, as the Reader may (as in the same Table) at once behold the Commons Charge and the Earls Defence run lateral and in pale each with other, omitting such as not being urged, signified nothing.

The

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1640.



The further Impeachment of Thomas Earl of Strafford by the Commons assembled in P A R L I A M E N T.

The First Article was not insisted upon.

II.

The Earls Reply.

That shortly after the obtaining of a Commission dated the 21. of March, in the 8. year of his now Majesties reign (to wit) the last day of August then next following, he the said Earl (to bring his Majesties liege people into a dislike of his Majesty and of his Government, and to terrifie the Justices of the Peace from executing of the Lawes; he, the said Earl, being then President of the Kings Council in the Northern parts of England, and a Justice of Peace) did publicly at the Assises held for the County of York in the City of York, in and upon the said last day of August, declare and publish before the people there attending for the administration of Justice according to the Law, and in the presence of the Justices sitting, *that some of the Justices were all for Law, but they should finde that the Kings little finger should be heavier than the loynes of the Law.*

Testified by Sir David Fowles and others.

III.

The Earls Reply.

March 25.
1641.

That the Realm of Ireland having been time out of minde annexed

That if he had been over liberal of his tongue for want of discretion,

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1641.

annexed to the Imperial Crown of this his Majesties Realm of *England*, and governed by the same Lawes: the said Earl being Lord Deputy of that Realm, to bring his Majesties liege people of that Kingdome likewise into dislike of his Majesties government, and intending the subversion of the fundamental Lawes and settled government of that Realm, and the distraction of his Majesties liege people, there did, upon the 30. day of *September*, in the ninth yeare of his now Majesties reign, in the City of *Dublin* (the chief City of that Kingdome, where his Majesties Privie Counsel, and Courts of Justice do ordinarily reside, and whither the Nobility and Gentry of that Realm do usually resort for Justice) in a publick Speech before divers of the Nobility and Gentry, and before the Maior, Aldermen, & Recorder, and many Citizens of *Dublin*, and other his Majesties liege people, declare and publish, that *Ireland was a conquered Nation, and that the King might do with them what he pleased*; and speaking of the Charters of the former Kings of *England* made to that City, he further said, that *their Charters were nothing worth, and did binde the King no further than he pleased*.

Testified by the Earl of *Cork* and two other Lords.

IV.

That *Richard* Earl of *Corke* having sued out process in court of Law for recovery of his possessions

discretion, yet could not his words amount to Treason, unlesse they had been revealed within 14. days, as he was informed. As to the Charge, he said, True it is, he said *Ireland* was a conquered Nation, which no man can deny; and that the King is the Law-giver, in matters not determined by Acts of Parliament, he conceived all Loyal Subjects would grant.

The Earls Reply.

It were hard measure for a man to lose his honour, and his life, for an hasty word, or because

March 27.

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sessions, from which he was put by colour of an order made by the said Earl of *Strafford*, and the Counsel Table of the said Realm of *Ireland*. The said Earl of *Strafford* upon a paper Petition, without legal proceedings, did the 20. day of *February*, in the 11. yeare of his now Majesties reign, threaten the said Earl of *Corke* (being then a Peer of the said Realm) to imprison him, unlesse he would surcease his sute, and said, *That he would have neither Law nor Lawyers dispute or question any of his orders.* And the 20. day of *March* in the said 11. year, the said Earl of *Strafford* speaking of an order of the said Council Table of that Realm, made in the time of King *James*, which concerned a Lease which the said Earl of *Cork* claimed in certain Rectories or tithes which the said Earl of *Cork* alleaged to be of no force, said, *That he would make the said Earl and all Ireland know, so long as he had the Government there, any act of State, there made, or to be made, should bee as binding to the subjects of that Kingdome, as an Act of Parliament:* And did question the said Earl of *Corke* in the Castle Chamber, upon pretence of breach of the said order of Counsell table, and did sundry other times, and upon sundry other occasions, by his words and speeches arrogate to himself a power above the fundamental Laws, & established government of that Kingdome, and scorned the said Lawes and established Government.

cause he is no wiser than God hath made him. As for the words, he confessed them to be true, and thought he said no more than what became him, considering how much his Masters honor was concerned in him, that if a proportionable obedience was not as well due to Acts of State, as to Acts of Parliament, in vain did Councils sit: And that he had done no more than what former Deputies had done, and than what was agreeable to his Instructions from the Counsel Table, which he produced. And that if those words were Treason, they should have been revealed within 14. dayes.

V. That

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1641.

March 28.

V.

That according to such his Declarations and Speeches, the said Earl of *Strafford* did use and exercise a power above, and against, and to the subversion of the fundamentall Lawes, and stablished Government of the said Realm of *Ireland*, extending such his power to the goods, free-holds, inheritances, liberties and lives of his Majesties Subjects of the said Realm, viz. The said Earl of *Strafford* the 12. day of *Decemb.* Anno Dom. 1635. in the time of full peace, did in the said Realm of *Ireland*, give and procure to be given against the Lord *Mount-Norris* (then and yet a Peer of *Ireland*, and then Vice-treasurer and receiver general of the Realm of *Ireland*, and one of the principal Secretaries of State, & Keeper of the Privy Signet of the said Kingdom) a sentence of death by a Counsel of War called together by the said Earl of *Strafford*, without any warrant or authority of Law, or offence deserving any such punishment. And he the said Earl did also at *Dublin* within the said realm of *Ireland*, in the moneth of *March* in the 14. year of his Majesties Reign, without any legal or due proceedings or tryal, give or cause to be given, a sentence of death against one other of his Majesties subjects, whose name is yet unknown, and caused him to be put to death in execution of the said sentence.

VI. That

The Earls Reply.

That there was then a standing Army in *Ireland*, and Armies cannot be governed but by Martial Law: that it hath been put in constant practice with former Deputies; that had the sentence been unjustly given by him, the crime could amount but to Felony at most, for which he hoped he might as well expect pardon from his Majesty, as the Lord *Conway* and Sir *Jacob Astley* had for doing the like in the late Northern Army.

That he neither gave sentence nor procured it against the Lord *Mount-Norris*, but only desired justice against the Lord for some affront done to him as he was Deputy of *Ireland*.

That the said Lord was judged by a Counsel of Warre, wherein he sat bare all the time, and gave no suffrage against him; that also to evidence himself a party, he caused his brother Sir *George Wentworth*, in regard of the nearness of blood, to decline all acting in the process.

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VI.

That the said Earl of *Strafford* without any legal proceedings, and upon a paper Petition of *Richard Rolstone*, did cause the said Lord *Mount-Norris* to be disseised and put out of possession of his free-hold and inheritance of his *Manner of Tymore* in the County of *Armagh*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, the said Lord *Mount-Norris* having been two years before in quiet possession thereof.

The Earls Reply.

That he conceived the Lord *Mount-Norris* was legally divested of his possessions, there being a suite long depending in Chancery, and the Plaintiff complaining of delay, he upon the Complainants Petition called unto him the Master of the Rolles, Lord Chancellor, and Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, and upon proofs in Chancery decreed for the Plaintiff. Wherein he said he did no more, than what other Deputies had done before him.

VII.

That the said Earl of *Strafford*, in the Terme of Holy Trinity, in the 13. year of his now Majesties reign, did cause a case commonly called *The case of Tenures upon defective Titles*, to be made and drawn up without any Jury or tryal, or other legal proceffe, and without the consent of parties, and did then procure the Judges of the said Realme of *Ireland* to deliver their opinions and resolutions to that case, and by colour of such opinions, did without any legal proceeding, cause *Thomas Lord Dillon*, a Peer of the said Realm of *Ireland*, to be put out of possession of divers Lands and Tenements, being his free-hold in the County of *Mago* and *Roscomen*, in the said Kingdom, and divers others of his Majesties subjects to be also put out of possession, and disseised of

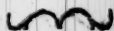
The Earls Reply.

That the Lord *Dillon* with others producing his Patent according to a Proclamation on the behalf of his Majesty, the said Patent was questionable, upon which a case was drawn and argued by Counsel, and the Judges delivered their opinions. But the Lord *Dillon* or any other, was not bound thereby, nor put out of their possessions, but might have traversed the office, or otherwise have legally proceeded, notwithstanding the said opinion.

The

of their free-hold by colour of the same resolution, without legal proceedings, whereby many hundreds of his Majesties subjects were undone, and their families utterly ruined.

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VIII.

The Earls Reply.

That the said Earl of *Strafford* upon a Petition exhibited in *October*, 1635. by *Thomas Hibbats* against Dame *Mary Hibbats* widow, to him the said Earl of *Strafford*, recommended the said Petition to the Counsel Table of *Ireland*, where the most part of the Counsel gave their vote and opinion for the said Lady, but the said Earl finding fault herewith, caused an order to be entred against the said Lady, & threatned her, that if she refused to submit thereunto, he would imprison her, and fine her five hundred pound; that if she continued obstinate, he would continue her imprisonment, and double her fine every month by month, whereof she was enforced to relinquish her estate in the Land questioned in the said Petition, which shortly was conveyed to Sir *Robert Meredeth*, to the use of the said Earl of *Strafford*.

That true it is he had voted against the Lady *Hibbats*, and thought he had reason so to do, the said Lady being discovered, by fraud and circumvention, to have bargained for Lands of a great value, for a small sum. And he denied that the said Lands were after sold to his use, or that the major part of the Counsel Board voted for the Lady; the contrary appearing by the sentence under the hand of the Clerk of the Counsel: which being true, he might well threaten her with Commitment in case she disobeyed the said order. Lastly, were it true that he were criminal therein, yet were the offence but a misdemeanour, no treason.

March 31.

And the said Earl in like manner did imprison divers others of his Majesties subjects upon pretence of disobedience to his orders and decrees, and other illegal commands by him made for pretended debts, titles of Lands, and other causes, in an arbitrary and

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and extrajudicial course, upon Paper Petitions to him preferred, and no other cause legally depending.

IX.

April 1.

That the said Earl of *Strafford*, the 16. day of *Feb.* in the 12. year of his now Majesties reign, assuming to himself a power above and against Law, took upon him by a general Warrant under his hand, to give power to the Lord Bishop of *Down*, and *Connor* his Chancellor, or Chancellors, and their several Officers thereto to be appointed, to attach and Arrest the Bodies of all such of the meaner and poorer sort, who after citation should either refuse to appear before them, or appearing, should omit, or deny to perform, or undergo all lawful decrees, sentences, and orders issued, imposed or given out against them, and them to commit and keep in the next Gaole, untill they should either performe such sentences, or put in sufficient Bail to shew some reason before the Council Table, of such their contempt and neglect, and the said Earl, the day and year last mentioned, signed and issued a Warrant to that effect, and made the like Warrant to send all other Bishops and their Chancellors in the said Realm of *Ireland* to the same effect.

X.

April 2.

That the said Earl of *Strafford*, being Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy of *Ireland*, procured the Customs

The Earls Reply.

That such Writs had been usually granted by former Deputies to Bishops in *Ireland*; nevertheless, being not fully satisfied with the convenience thereof, he was sparing in granting of them, until being informed that divers in the Diocese of *Down* were somewhat refractory, he granted Warrants to that Bishop, and hearing of some disorders in the execution, he called them in again.

The Earls reply.

That his Interest in the Customs of *Ireland* accrued to him by the assignation of a Lease from

Customes of the Merchandise exported out, and imported into that Realm to be farmed to his owne use.

And in the ninth year of his now Majesties Reign, he having then interest in the said Customs (to advance his own gain and lucre) did cause and procure the native commodities of *Ireland*, to be rated in the book of Rates for the Customes (according to which the Customs were usually gathered) at far greater values and prices, than in truth they were worth; (that is to say) every hide at 20 shillings, which in truth was worth but five shillings, every stone of Wool at thirteen shillings four pence, though the same ordinarily were worth but five shillings, at the utmost but nine shillings; by which means the Custom which before was but a twentyeth part of the true value of the commodity, was enhanced sometimes to a fifth part, and sometimes to a fourth, sometimes to a third part of the true value, to the great oppression of the subjects, and decay of *Merchandise*.

XI.

That the said Earl, in the ninth year of his now Majesties Reign, did by his own will and pleasure, and for his own lucre, restrain the exportation of the commodities of that Kingdome without his licence, as namely *Pipe-staves*, and other commodities, and then raised great sums

from the Dutcheffe of *Buckingham*: that the book of Rates, by which the Customes were gathered, was the same which was established by the Lord Deputy *Faulkland*, Anno 1628. some years before he was employed thither. That as he hath been just and faithful to his Master the King, by encreasing his Revenue; so hath he also much bettered the Trade, and shipping of that Kingdom.

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The Earles Reply.

That *Pipe-staves* were prohibited in King *James* his time, and not exported but by licence, paying 6 s. 8 d. a thousand, and that he had not raised so much thereby to himself, as his predecessors had done for such licences.

The

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sums of money for licensing of exportation of those commodities, and dispensation of the said restraints imposed on them, by which means the *Pipe-Staves* were raised from four pound ten shillings, or five pound *per* thousand, to ten pound, and sometimes eleven pound *per* thousand: and other commodities were enhanced in the like proportion, and by the same means by him the said Earl.

XII.

That the said Earl being *Lord Deputy of Ireland*, on the ninth day of *Jan.* in the thirteenth year of his Majesties Reign, did then under colour to regulate the importation of *Tobacco* into the said Realm of *Ireland*, issue a Proclamation in his Majesties name, prohibiting the importation of *Tobacco* without licence of him and the Counsel, therefrom and after the first day of *May*, Anno Dom. 1638. After which restraint, the said Earl, notwithstanding the said restraint, caused divers great quantities of *Tobacco* to be imported to his own use, and freighted divers ships with *Tobacco*, which he imported to his own use: and that if any ship brought *Tobacco* into any Port there, the said Earl and his Agents used to buy the same to his own use, at their own price. And if that the Owners refused to let him have the same at under values, then they were not permitted to vent the same; by which undue means the said Earl having

The Earls Reply.

That before his time the King had but 10. or 20. *l. per annum* for that Custom, which now yeelded 20000 *l.* For the Proclamation, it was not set out by his means principally, or for his private benefit, but by consent of the whole Counsel. The prices of *Tobacco* not exceeding two shillings the pound. And this he conceives cannot be made treason, were all the Article granted, but only a Monopoly, for which he was to be fined.

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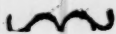


ving gotten the whole Trade of Tobacco into his own hands, he sold it at great and excessive prices, such as he list to impose for his own profit.

And the more to assure the said *Monopoly of Tobacco*, he the said Earl, on the 23. day of Feb. in the 13. year aforesaid, did issue another Proclamation; commanding that none should put to sale any Tobacco by whole-sale, from and after the last day of May, then next following, but what should be made up into Rols, & the same sealed with two seals by himself appointed, one at each end of the Roll. And such as was not sealed to be seized, appointing fixpence the pound for a reward to such persons as should seize the same: and the persons in whose custody the unsealed Tobacco should be found to be committed to Gaol: which last Proclamation was covered by a pretence of the restraining of the sale of unwholesom Tobacco, but it was truly to advance the said Monopoly.

Which Proclamation the said Earl did rigorously put in execution, by seizing the goods, fining, imprisoning, whipping, & putting the offenders against the same Proclamation on the pillory, as namely, *Barnaby Hubbard*, *Edward Coven*, *John Tumen*, and divers others: and made the Officers of State, and Justices of Peace, and other Officers to serve him in compassing and executing these unjust and undue courses. By which cruelties

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ties and unjust Monopolies, the said Earl raised 100000 pounds *per annum* gain to himself. And yet the said Earl, though he in-
hanced the Customes, where it concerned the Merchants in general, yet drew down the impost formerly taken on Tobacco, from six pence the pound to three pence the pound, it being for his own profit so to do. And the said Earl, by the same, and other rigorous and undue means raised severall other Monopolies and unlawfull exactions for his own gain, *viz.* on Starch, Iron pots, Glasses, Tobacco-pipes, and severall other commodities.

XIII.

April 3.

That Flax being one of the principal and native Commodities of that Kingdom of *Ireland*, the said Earl having gotten great quantities thereof into his hands, and growing on his own Lands, did issue out severall Proclamations, *viz.* one dated the one and twentieth day of *May*, in the eleventh of his Majesties reign, and the other dated the one and thirtieth of *January*, in the same year, thereby prescribing and enjoyning the working of Flax into Yarn and Thread, and the ordering of the same in such waies, wherein the Natives of that Kingdome were unpractised and unskillful: which Proclamations so issued, were, by his Commands and Warrants to his Majesties Justices of Peace, and other Officers, and by other rigorous means, put in execution

The Earls reply.

That he did endeavour to advance the manufacture of *Hnen*, rather than of woollen, because the last would be the greater detriment to *England*. That the Primate of *Ireland*, the Archbishop of *Dublin*, Chancellor *Leffins*, and the Lord *Mount-Norris*, all of the Counsell, & subscribers of the Proclamation, were as liable to the charge as himself. That the reducing of that Nation by Orders of the Counsell-Board to the English Customes from their more savage usages, as drawing horses by their tails, &c. had been of former practice: that the project was of so ill avail to him as he was the worse for the manufacture thirty thousand pounds at least, by the loom he had set up at his own charge.

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execution, and the Flax wrought or ordered in other manner than as the said Proclamation prescribed; was seized and employed to the use of him and his agents, and thereby the said Earl endeavoured to gain, and did gain in effect the sole sale of that native commodity.

The XIV. Article was not urged.


X V.

That the said Earl of *Strafford* trayterously and wickedly devised and contrived by force of Armes, in a warlike manner, to subdue the Subjects of the said Realm of *Ireland*, to bring them under his tyrannical power and will, and in pursuance of his wicked and trayterous purposes aforesaid, the said Earl of *Strafford*, in the eighth year of his Majesties reign, did by his own authority, without any warrant or colour of Law, tax and impose great sums of money upon the Townes of *Baltemore*, *Baudenbridge*, *Talowe*, and divers other Townes and places in the said Realm of *Ireland*, and did cause the same to be levied upon the Inhabitants of those Towns by Troops of Souldiers, with force and arms, in a warlike manner. And on the ninth day of *March*, in the twelfth year of his now Majesties reign, trayterously did give authority unto *Robert Savill* a Serjeant at armes, and to the Captains of the companies of Souldiers, in several parts of that Realm, to send

The Earls reply.

That nothing hath been more ordinary in *Ireland*, than for the Governours to put all manner of sentences in execution by the help of souldiers; that *Grandison*, *Falkland*, *Chichester*, and other Deputies frequently did it. [*Sir Arthur Teringham* to this point deposed, that in *Falklands* time he knew 20 Souldiers assessed upon one man, for refusing to pay sixteen shillings.] That his instructions for executing his Commission, were the same with those formerly given to the Lord *Falkland*, and that in both there is expresse warrant for it. That no testimony produced against him doth evidently prove he gave any warrant to that effect, and that Serjeant *Savill* shewed only the Copy of a warrant, not the Original it self, which he conceived could not make faith in case of life and death in that high Court, especially it being not averred upon Oath to agree with the Original, which should be upon record. That he conceived he was for an Irish custome to be

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send such numbers of Souldiers to lie on the Lands and Houses of such as would not conform to his orders, until they should render obedience to his said orders and warrants, and after such submission (and not before) the said Souldiers to return to their Garrisons. And did also issue the like warrants unto divers others, which warrants were in warlike manner, with force & Arms, put in execution accordingly, and by such warlike means did force divers of his Majesties Subjects of that Realm to submit themselves to his unlawful commands.

be tryed by the Peers of that Kingdom.

And in the said twelfth year of his Majesties reign, the said Earl of *Strafford* did trayterously cause certain troops of horse and foot, armed in warlike manner, and in warlike array, with force and armes, to expel *Richard Butler* from the possession of *Castle-cumber*, in the Territory of *Idough*, in the said realm of *Ireland*, and did likewise and in like warlike manner, expel divers of his Majesties Subjects from their houses, families, and possessions, as namely *Edward Brenman*, *Owen Oberman*, *Patrick Oberman*, *Sir Cyprian Horsfield*, and divers others, to the number of about a hundred families, and took and imprisoned them and their wives, and carried them prisoners to *Dublin*, and there detained them until they did yield up, surrender, or release their respective estates and rights.

And

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And the said Earl, in like warlike manner, hath, during his government of the said Kingdom of Ireland, subdued divers others of his Majesties Subjects ease to his wil, and thereby and by the means aforesaid, hath levied war within the said Realm, against his Majesty and his liege people of that Kingdom.

Testified by Serjant Savil.

This Article pinch't the *Earl* so close, as notwithstanding his Answer, the Commons thought the evidence so strong against him, and were so confident that the fact was Treason, as they were very desirous to proceed to vote upon that very point; but the Lords withdrawing, returned answer, that they could not agree to it, but desired them to go on to the remaining Articles.

XVI.

The Earl's Reply.

That the said Earl of *Strafford*, the two and twentieth of *February*, in the seventh year of his now *Majesties* reign, intending to oppress the said Subjects of *Ireland*, did make a proposition, and obtained from his *Majesty* an allowance, that no complaint of injustice or oppression done in *Ireland*, should be received in *England* against any, unlesse it first appeared that the party made first his addresse to him the said Earl: and the said Earl having by such usurped tyrannical and exorbitant power, expressed in the former Articles, destroyed the Peers and other subjects of that Kingdom of *Ireland*, in their lives, consciences, land, liberties, and estates, the said Earl to the intent the better to maintain and strengthen

That the Deputy *Falkland* had set out the same Proclamation. That the same restraint was contained in the Statute of 25. *Hen. 6.* upon which the Proclamation was founded. That he had the *Kings* expresse warrant for the Proclamation. That he had also power to do it by the Commission granted him, & that the Lords of the Counsel and three Justices, not only yielded, but pressed him unto it. That it was don upon just cause, for, had the Ports been open, divers would have taken liberty to go to *Spain*, to *Domay*, *Rhemes*, or *St. Omers*, which might have proved of mischievous consequence to the State. That the Earl of *D'Esmond* stood, at the time of his restraint, charged with Treason before the Coun-

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strengthen his power, and to bring the people into a disaffection of his Majesty as aforesaid, did use his Majesties name in the execution of his said power. And to prevent the subjects of that Realm of all means of complaints to his Majesty, and of redresse against him and his agents, did issue a Proclamation bearing date the seventeenth day of September, in the eleventh year of his Majesties Reign, thereby commanding all the Nobility, undertakers and others, who held estates and offices in the said Kingdom (except such as were employed in his Majesties service, or attending in *England* by his special command) to make their personal residence in the said Kingdom of *Ireland*, and not to depart thence without licence of himself. And the said Earl hath since issued other Proclamations to the same purpose, by means wherof the subjects of the said Realm are restrained from seeking relief against the oppressions of the said Earl, without his licence: which Proclamation the said Earl hath by several rigorous wayes, as by fine, imprisonment, and otherwise, put in execution on his Majesties subjects, as namely, one *Parry*, and others, who came over only to complain of the exorbitances and oppressions of the said Earl.

Testified by the *Earl of Desmond*, the *Lord Roch*, *Marcattée*, and *Parry*.

cel of *Ireland*, for practising against the life of one *Sir Valentine Coke*. That the *Lord Roch* was then a prisoner for debt in the Castle of *Dublin*, and therefore incapable of a licence. That *Parry* was not fined for coming over without licence, but for several contempts against the Council-board in *Ireland*, and that in his sentence he had but only a casting voice, as the *Lord Keeper* in the *Star-chamber*.

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The XVII. and XVIII.
Articles were not insisted up-
on.

XIX.

That the said Earl having taxed and levied the said impositions, and raised the said Monopolies, and committed the said oppressions in his Majesties name, and as by his Majesties Royal command, he the said Earl in *May* the fifteenth year of his Majesties reign, did of his own authority contrive and frame a new and unusual oath, by the purport whereof, among many other things, the party taking the said oath, was to swear that he should not protest against any of his Majesties Royal commands, but submit themselves in all obedience thereunto. Which oath he so contrived, to enforce the same on the subjects of the Scottish Nation inhabiting in *Ireland*, and out of a hatred to the said Nation, and to put them to a discontent with his Majestie and his Government there, and compelled divers of his Majesties said subjects there to take the said oath; some he grievously fined & imprisoned, and others he destroyed and exiled, and namely, the 10. of *October*, *Ann. Dom. 1639.* he fined *Henry Steward* and his wife, who refused to take the said oath, five thousand pounds a peece, and their two daughters and *James Gray* three thousand pounds a peece, and imprisoned them for
not

The Earls Reply.

That the Oath was not violently enjoyed by him upon the Irish Scots, but framed in compliance with their own expresse *Petition*, which *Petition* is owned in the Proclamation, as the main impulsive to it. That the same Oath not long after was prescribed by the Council of *England*. That he had a Letter under his Majesties own hand, ordering it to be prescribed as a touch-stone of their fidelity. As to the greatnesse of the fine imposed upon *Steward*, and others, he conceived it was not more than the heinousnesse of their offence deserved; yet had they petitioned, and submitted the next day, that would wholly have been remitted.

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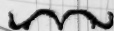
not paying the said fines. The said *Henry Stewards* wife and daughters, and *James Gray*, being the Kings liege people of the Scottish Nation, and divers others he used in the like manner; and the said Earl upon that occasion did declare, that the said oath did not only oblige them in point of allegiance to his Majesty, and acknowledgement of his supremacy only, but to the Ceremonies and Government of the Church established, or to be established by his Majesties royal Aathority; and said, that the refusers to obey, he would prosecute to the blood.

XX.

That the said Earl in the 15. and 16. years of his Majesties reign, and divers years past, laboured and endeavoured to beget in his Majesty an ill opinion of his Subjects, namely those of the Scottish Nation, and divers and sundry times, and especially since the pacification made by his Majesty with his said subjects of *Scotland*, in summer, in the 15. year of his Majesties reign, he the said Earl did labour & endeavour to perswade, incite, & provoke his Majesty to an offensive war against his said subjects of the Scottish Nation, and the said Earl, by his counsel, actions, and endeavours hath been and is a chief incendiary of the war and discord between his Majesty and his Subjects of *England*, and the said Subjects of *Scotland*, and hath declared, and advised his Majesty, that the demand made by the Scots in this

The Earls Reply.

That he called all the Scottish Nation Traitors and *Rebels*, no one proof is produced, and though he is hasty in speech, yet was hee never so defective of reason, as to speak so like a mad man: for he knew well his Majesty was a native of that Kingdom, and was confident many of that Nation were of as heroique Spirits, and as faithful and loyal subjects as any the King had. As to the other words of rooting out the Scots *both Root and Branch*, he conceives a short reply may serve, they being proved by a single testimony only, which can make no sufficient faith in case of life. Again, the witnesse was very much mistaken, if not worse, for he deposeth that these words were spoken the tenth day of *October* in *Ireland*, whereas he was able to



this Parliament were a sufficient cause of war against them. The said Earl having formerly expressed the height and rancor of his mind towards his subjects of the Scottish Nation, viz. the tenth day of *October*, in the fifteenth year of his Majesties reign, he said, that the Nation of the Scots were Rebels, and Traytors; and he being then about to come to *England*, he then further said, that if it pleased his Master (meaning his Majesty) to send him back again, he would root out of the said Kingdom (meaning the Kingdom of *Ireland*) the Scottish Nation both root and branch: Some Lords, and others who had taken the said oath in the precedent Article only excepted. And the said Earl hath caused divers of the said Ships and goods of the Scots to be stayed, seised, and molested, to the intent to set on the said War.

The XXI. and XXII. Articles were not urged.

XXIII.

That upon the thirteenth day of *April* last, the Parliament of *England* met, and the Commons House (then being the representative Body of all the Commons in the Kingdom) did according to the trust reposed in them, enter into debate & consideration of the great grievances of this Kingdom, both in respect of Religion, and the publick Libertie of the Kingdom; and his Majesty referring chiefly

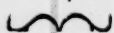
to evidence, he was at that time in *England*, and had been so near a month before.

The Earles Reply.

That he was not the principal cause of dissolving the last Parliament, for before he came to the Counsell Table, it was voted by the Lords to demand 12. Subsidies, and that Sir *Henry Vane* was ordered to demand no lesse; but he coming in the interim, he perswaded the Lords to vote it again, declaring to his Majesty (then present) and them, the danger of the breach of the Parliament: whereupon it was again

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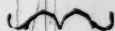
chiefly to the said Earl of *Strafford*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the ordering and disposing of all matters concerning the Parliament, He the said Earl of *Strafford*, with the assistance of the said Archbishop, did procure his Majesty by sundry speeches and messages, to urge the said Commons house to enter into some resolution for his Majesties supply, for maintenance of his war against his Subjects of *Scotland*, before any course was taken for the relief of the great and pressing grievances, wherewith this Kingdom was then afflicted. Whereupon, a demand was then made from his Majesty, of twelve Subsidies, for the release of Ship-money only; and while the said Commons then assembled (with expressions of great affection to his Majesty and his service) were in debate and consideration of some supply, before resolution by them made, He the said Earl of *Strafford*, with the help and assistance of the said Archbishop, did procure his Majesty to dissolve the last Parliament, upon the fifth day of *May* last: and upon the same day, the said Earl of *Strafford* did treacherously, falsely, and maliciously endeavour to incense his Majesty against his loving and faithful Subjects, who had been members of the said House of Commons, by telling his Majesty, they had denied to supply him. And afterward upon the same, did treacherously and wickedly counsel and advise his Majesty to this effect, *viz. That having*
tryed

again voted, That if the Parliament would not grant twelve Subsidies, Sir *Henry* should descend to eight, and rather than fail, to six. But Sir *Henry* not observing his instructions, demanded twelve only, without abatement, or going lower; that the height of this demand, urged the Parliament to deny, and their denial moved his Majesty to dissolve the Parliament: so that the chief occasion of the breach thereof, was, as he conceived, Sir *Henry Vane*. He confesseth, that at the Council-Table he advised the King to an offensive war against the Scots; But it was not untill all fair means to prevent a war had been first attempted. Again, others were as much for a defensive war, and it might be as free to vote one, as the other. Lastly, votes at a Council-board are but bare opinions; and opinions, if pertinaciously maintained, may make an Heretique, but never can a Traitor.

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tryed the affections of his people, he was loose and absolved from all Rules of government, and was to doe every thing that power would admit, and that his Majesty had tryed a'l wayes, and was refused, and should be acquitted both of God and man, and that he had an Army in Ireland (meaning the Army above-mentioned, consisting of Papiests, his dependents, as is aforesaid) which he might employ to reduce this Kingdom to obedience.

The XIV. Article not urged.

XV.

The Earls reply.

That not long after the dissolution of the said last *Parliament* (*viz.* In the months of *May* and *June*) he the said Earl of *Straford* did advise the King to goe on rigorously in levying of the Ship-money, and did procure the Sheriffs of several Counties to be sent for, for not levying the Ship-money, divers of which were threatned by him to be sued in the Star-chamber; and afterwards by his advice were sued in the Star-chamber, for not levying the same; and divers of his Majesties loving subjects were sent for and imprisoned by his advice, about that and other illegal payments.

And a great loan of a hundred thousand pounds was demanded of the City of *London*, and the Lord Maior and the Aldermen, and the Sheriffs of the said City, were often sent for by his advice

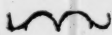
That there was a present necessity for money; that all the Counsel-board had voted with, yea before him. That there was then a sentence in the Star-chamber upon the opinion of all the Judges, for the legality of the Tax of *Ship-money*, and he thought he might advise the King to take, what the Judges had declared was by law his own. He confessed that upon refusal of so just a service, the better to quicken the Citizens to the payment of Ship-money, he said, they deserved to be fined. Which words might perhaps be incircumspectly delivered, but he conceives cannot amount to Treason, especially when no ill consequence followed upon them; and it would render men in a sad condition, if for every hasty word, or opinion given in Counsel, they should

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advice to the Counsel Table, to give an account of their proceedings in raising of Ship-money, and furthering of that loan, and were required to certify the names of such Inhabitants of the said City as were fit to lend, which they with much humility refusing to do, he the said Earl of Strafford did use these or the like speeches: *viz. That they deserved to be put to Fine and Ransom, and that no good would be done with them, till an example were made of them, and that they were laid by the heels, and some of the Aldermen hanged up.*

XXVI.

That the said Earl of Strafford by his wicked counsel having brought his Majesty into excessive charges without any just cause, he did in the moneth of *July* last (for the support of the said great charges) counsel and approve two dangerous and wicked Projects: *viz.*

To seise upon the Bullion and the Money in the Mint.

And to imbase his Majesties Coin with the mixtures of Brasse.

And accordingly he procured one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, which was then in the Mint, and belonging to divers Merchants, strangers and others, to be seised on and stayed to his Majesties use. And when divers Merchants of *London*, owners of the said Bullion, came

to

be sentenced as Traitors. But that he said it were well for the Kings service, if some of the Aldermen were hanged up, he utterly denieth, (*as well he might, the words being spoken by the Lord Cottington.*) Nor is it proved by any, but Alderman *Garway*, who is at best but a single testimony, and therefore no sufficient evidence in case of life.

The Earls reply.

That he expected some proofs to evidence the two first particulars, but hears of none. For the following words, he confessed, probably they might escape the door of his lips. Nor did he think it much amiss, considering their present posture, to call that faction *Rebels*. As for the last words objected against him in that Article, he said, that being in conference with some of the *Londoners*, there came to his hands at that instant a letter from the Earl of *Leicester*, then at *Paris*, wherein were the *Gazets* inclosed, relating that the *Cardinal* had given order to levie money by Soldiers. This he only told the Lord *Cottington* standing by, but made not the least application thereof to the English affairs.

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to his house to let him understand the great mischief that course would produce here, and in other parts, what prejudice it would be to the Kingdom, by discrediting the Mint, and hindring the importation of Bullion: he the said Earl told them, that the City of *London* dealt undutifully and unthankfully with his Majesty, and that they were more ready to help the Rebel, than to help his Majesty; and that if any hurt came to them, they might thank themselves; and that it was the course of other Princes, to make use of such monies to serve their occasions.

And when in the same month of *July* the Officers of his Majesties Mint came to him, and gave him divers reasons against the imbasing of the said money, he told them that the French King did use to send Commissaries of Horse with Commission to search into mens estates, and to peruse their accompts, that so they may know what to levy of them by force; which they did accordingly levy: and turning to the Lord *Cottington*, then present, said, *That this was a point worthy his Lordships consideration.*

XXVII.

That in or about the month of *August* last, he was made Lieutenant General of all his Majesties forces in the Northern parts against the Scots, and being at *York* did in the month

The Earls Reply.

That his Majesty comming to *York*, it was thought necessary, in regard the enemy was upon the borders, to keep the Trained bands on foot for defence of the County: and therefore the

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month of *September*, by his own authority, and without any lawfull warrant, impose a Tax on his Majesties Subjects in the County of *York*, of 8. *d. per diem*, for maintenance of every Souldier of the Trained-bands of that County, which sums of money he caused to be levied by force. And to the end to compel his Majesties Subjects out of fear and terrour to yeeld to the payment of the same, He did declare that he would commit them that refused the payment thereof, and the Souldiers should be satisfied out of their estates; and they that refused it, were in very little better condition than of high Treason.

the King directed him to write to the Freeholders in *Yorkshire*, to declare what they would doe for their own defence; that they freely offered a months pay, nor did any man grudge against it. Again, it was twice propounded to the Great Counsel of Peers at *York*, that the King approved it as a just and necessary Act; and none of the Counsel contradicted it, which he conceived seemed a tacit allowance of it. That though his Majesty had not given him special order therein, nor the Gentry had desired it, yet he conceived he had power enough to impose that Tax by virtue of his Commission. But he never said, That the refusers should be guilty of little lesse than high Treason, which being proved by Sir *William Ingram*, he was but a single testimony, and one who had formerly mistaken himself in what he had deposed.

XXVIII.

The Earls Reply.

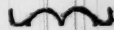
That in the moneths of *September* and *October* last, he the said Earl of *Strafford* being certified of the Scottish Army coming into the Kingdom, and he the said Earl of *Strafford*, being Lieutenant General of his Majesties Army, did not provide for the defence of the Town of *Newcastle*, as he ought to have done, but suffered the same to be lost, that so he might the more incense the English against the Scots. And for the same wicked purpose, and out of a malicious desire to ingage the King-

That he admired how in the third Article he being charged as an Incendiary against the Scots, is now in this Article made their confederate, by betraying *New-castle* into their hands. But to answer more particularly, he said, that there was at *New-castle* the 24 of *August* 10. or 12000 foot, and two thousand horse, under the command of the Lord *Conway*, and Sir *Iacob Astly*, and that Sir *Jacob* had written to him concerning the Town of *New-castle*, that it was fortified, which also was

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Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland* in a Nationall and bloody war, he did write to the Lord *Conway* the General of the horse, and under the said Earls command, that he should fight with the Scottish Army at the passage over the *Tyne*, whatsoever should follow, notwithstanding that the said Lord *Conway* had formerly by Letters informed him the said Earl, that his Majesties Army then under his command, was not of force sufficient to incounter the Scots, by which advice of his, he did contrary to the dury of his place betray his Majesties Army then under his command, to apparent danger and loss.

was never under his particular care, and for the passage over the River of *Tyne*, his Majesty sent special directions to the Lord *Conway* to secure it, and therefore that Lord is more (as he conceives) responsible for that miscarriage than himself.

The Earl having thus answered every particular Article against him, it was moved by the House of Commons, That if he had any thing to say further in his Defence, he should do it presently; whereupon he desired time until the next morning, which was, though difficultly, granted him. The next morning the Houses met, but the Lieutenant of the Tower appeared without his prisoner, certifying that the *Earl* was taken with a terrible fit of the Stone that night, and continued still so ill, as he could not stir abroad without danger of his life. The Commons thought this excuse but counterfeit, meerly to protract the time, but the *Lords* were more inclinable to credit the relation, yet an order was agreed upon between them both, that if the Earl came not the next day, they should proceed notwithstanding his dis-appearance, and that in the *interim*, some of the Upper House should resort to the Tower to see in what condition he was. These Lords comming in the afternoon, found nature and medicamentall applications had so far prevailed over his disease, as gave assurance of his ability to adventure forth next day without prejudice to his health; and what else should dismay him? for to every Article of his accusation he had given, as he hoped, so apposite, so full an answer, as confident he was, he should not be found culpable within the sphere of Treason, and offences of a lower orb were beneath his trepidation. But (whether it was that his hope, elevated to the highest pitch

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New proofs
offered against
the Earl.

pitch, might minister the more to the grandure of his fall, or for some other cause unknown) the Commons had kept dormant, and in reserve, their evidence of most fatal and pernicious qualification, which the next day *April* the 10. the *Earl* appearing at the Bar, they desired liberty to produce. Then the Earl craved the same freedom for himself, concerning some testimonies not yet exhibited on his behalf. Upon this ensued a hot contest betwixt the two Houses, the Lords conceiving that by the common dispensation of equity, the accused should have equal allowance to superinduct new proofs, as well as the accusers, or else that all further testimony should be waved on both sides. This sense of the Lords was so vastly differing from the minde of the Commons, as up they rose in much discontent, not so much as appointing the day of their next meeting there. So that Monday the 12. the Nobles and Commons sat in their distinct and proper Houses. In the Lower, Mr. *Pym* produced a Copy of some notes taken by *Secretary Vane*, of certain opinions delivered at the Counsel Table, *May* the 5. 1640. being the day of the last Parliaments dissolution, the discovery said to be thus.

Secret. *Vane's*
notes how d.
covered.

Secretary Vane, upon some occasion, delivered to his sonne Sir *Henry Vane* the Key of a Cabinet, to fetch some papers laid therein. In this Cabinet young Sir *Henry Vane* finds a key of another Cabinet, which he openeth, and there accidentally lights upon these notes, who presently gives thereof an account to Mr. *Pym*.

This produced a conference that afternoon with the Lords, at which Mr. *Pym* re-minds the Peers of the Commons request on Saturday last, concerning some supplemental proofs they desired to offer in the Earl of *Straffords* cause; he acquainted them that the proofs related to the 23. Article, and were founded upon the Notes which he then produced, and that the Commons moved their Lordships to order that the Earl might be sent for the next day, to make his defence at the Bar at *westminster-hall*. Which being condescended to by the Nobles, and *April* the 13. the Earl appearing, the Notes were brought forth and read, the Title whereof was;

No danger of a War with Scotland, if Offensive, not Defensive.

Then followed the Opinions interlocutory and by way of Dialogue.

K. C. H. How

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The Notes
themselves.

The Earls reply.

K. C. H. How can we undertake Offensive War, if we have no more money?

L. L. IR. Borrow of the City 100000. l. Go on rigorously to leave Ship-money. Your Majesty having tryed the affection of your people, you are absolved and loose from all rule of Government, and to do what Power will admit. Your Majesty have tryed all wayes, and being refused, shall be acquitted before God and Man; And you have an Army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce THIS Kingdom to obedience, for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out five months.

L. ARCH. You have tryed all wayes, and have alwayes been denied, it is now lawfull to take it by force.

L. COTT. Leagues abroad there may be made for the defence of the Kingdom. The Lower House are weary of the King and Church. All wayes shall be just to raise money by in this inevitable necessity, and are to be used being lawfull.

L. ARCH. For an Offensive, not any Defensive War.

L. L. IR. The Town is full of Lords, put the Commission of Array on foot, and if any of them stir, we will make them smart.

That being a Privie Counsellor, he thought he might have as free a vote as another; that his opinion was no other than what he thought the present exigent required; that it were hard measure for opinions or discourses resulting from such occasions, and at such debates, to be prosecuted under the notion of Treason. And whereas the main dint of this accusation received derivation from his suggested saying, *The King had an Army in Ireland, which he might imploy here to reduce This Kingdom;* He answereth,

First, That it is proved by the solitary testimony of one man (Secretary Vane) which is not of validity enough in Law to create faith in a matter of Debt, much lesse in point of life and death.

Secondly, That the Sereta-ries Deposition was exceeding dubious; upon two examinations he could not remember any such words, & the third time his testimony was not positive, but that I spake those words, or the like; and words may be very like in sound, yet differ much in sense, as in the words of my charge, *here for there, and that for this*, puts an end to the controversie.

Thirdly, there were present at this debate but eight Privie Counsellors in all, two whereof (the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Secretary Windebank) are not to be produced; Sir Hen-

ry

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ry affirms the words, I deny them: then there remain four still to give in evidence, viz. The Marquesse *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Treasurer*, and the Lord *Cottington*; who have all declared upon their Honours, that they never heard me speak those words, nay nor the like.

Lastly, suppose (though I grant it not) that I spake those words, yet cannot the word *This* rationally imply *England*, because the debate was concerning *Scotland*, as is yielded on all hands, because *England* was not out of the way of obedience, as the Earl of *Clare* well observed, and because there never was any the least intention of landing the *Irish Army* in *England*, as the foresaid *Lords* of the Privy Counsel are able to attest.

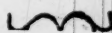
The Earl having delivered his Answer to this Additional Proof, the Lord *Steward* told him, that, if he had any thing to say further in his own Defence, he should proceed, because the Court desired to prepare matters for speedy Judgement, whereupon he made a summary repetition of the several parcels of his former Defence, which ended, he continued his Speech thus.

My Lords,

There remains another kind of Treason that I should be guilty of, for endeavouring to subvert the Fundamental Lawes of the Land. That this should be Treason together, that is not Treason in one part; a Treason accumulative, that when all will not do it alone, being weaved up with others, it should do it, seems very strange. Under favour, my Lords, I conceive there is

The conclusion of the Earls Defence.

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is neither Statute nor Common Law, which doth declare this endeavouring to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Land to be high Treason; for I have been diligent in the inquiry, as you know it deeply concerns me, and could never discover it. It is hard to be questioned for life and honour upon a Law, that cannot be shewn; for it is a rule in Sir EDWARD COKE, *De non apparentibus & non existentibus eadem est ratio.* Jhesu! Where hath this fire lain hid so many hundreds of years, without smoke, to discover it, till it thus burst forth to consume me and my children? That punishment should precede promulgation of a law, to be punished by a law subsequent to the Fact, is extreme hard; what man can be safe, if this be admitted? My Lords, it is hard in another respect, that there should be no token set by which we should know this Offence, no admonition by which we should avoid it. If a man passe the *Thames* in a boat, and split himself upon an Anchor, and no Buoy be floting to discover it, he who oweth the Anchor shall make satisfaction; but if a Buoy be set there, every man passeth upon his own peril. Now where is this marke, where the token upon this Crime to declare it to be high Treason? My Lords, be pleased to give that regard to the Peerage of *England*, as never to expose your selves to such moot-points, such constructive interpretations of Lawes. If there must be a tryal of wits, let the subject matter be of somewhat else, than the lives and honours of Peers. It will bee wisdome for your selves, for your posterity, and for the whole Kingdom to cast into the fire these bloudy and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary Treason, as the Primitive Christians did their *Books of curious Arts*, and betake your selves to the plain letter of the Law and Statute, that telleth us what is, and what is not *Treason*, without being more ambitious to be more learned in the art of Killing than our

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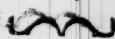
fore-fathers. It is now full 240 yeares, since any man was touched for this alleged Crime to this height before my self, let us not awaken these sleeping Lyons to our destructions, by raking up a few musty Records, that have lain by the walls so many ages, forgotten or neglected. May your Lordships please not to add this to my other misfortunes; for my other sins be-slave me, not for *Treason*; Let not a president be desired from me, so disadvantageous as this will be in the consequence to the whole Kingdom; do not, through me, wound the interest of the Common-wealth. And howsoever these Gentlemen say they speak for the Common-wealth, yet in this particular I indeed speak for it, and shew the inconveniencies and mischiefs which will fall upon it. For, as it is said in the Statute 1. of *Henry 4.* No man will know what to doe, or say, for fear of such penalties. Doe not put, my Lords, such difficulties upon Ministers of State, that men of Wisdome, of Honour, of Fortune, may not with cheerfulness and safety be imployed for the publique; if you weigh and measure them by graines and scruples, the publique affaires of the Kingdome will lie waste, no man will meddle with them who has any thing to lose. My Lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges a Saint in heaven hath left me. [At this he stopt awhile, offering up some tears to her ashes.] What I forfeit my self is nothing, but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity it woundeth me to the very soul. You will pardon my infirmity, something I should have added, but am not able; therefore let it passe. And now, my Lords, for my self, I have beene by the blessing of almighty God taught, that the afflictions of this present life, are not to be compared to the eternal weight of Glory which shall be revealed hereafter. And so my Lords, even so, with

The Reign of King Charles.

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with all tranquility of mind, I freely submit my self to your judgement; and whether that judgement be of life, or death,

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— Te Deum laudamus.

The Earl had no sooner ended, than Mr. *Glyn*, and after him Mr. *Pym* undertakes him, endeavouring to render his offences as odious as possibly they could; but their replications being fuller stuff with Rhetorical Declamations, than Logical Conclusions, signified little as to judicial proceedings.

Matters of Fact being transacted, the Commons were next engaged to justify their charge by Law, which was a point very intricate and difficult; for his crimes were not as yet discovered to be specifically comprehended under the letter of any Statute declaratory of Treason; nor did that Statute of 25. of *Edward* the third (which is the Index to all matters of Treason) directly charge him. But that Statute had a *Salvo* adnext to it, whereby it was provided that, *because all particular Treasons could not be then defined, therefore what the Parliament should declare to be Treason in time to come, should be punished as Treason*: and within the compass of this *Salvo* they doubted not to bring him, and to cut him off by Bill of *Attainder*. Hereupon the *Earl* moved that he might be allowed to plead by his Council, which the Nobles thought they could not in justice deny, but the Commons being of another persuasion, would not, till after three dayes conference with the Lords about it, assent thereunto. But at length the 16. the Peers prevailed, and it was agreed that the *Earl* with his Council should have liberty to come next day, and they to plead such particulars only, to which they should be restrained:

The Commons
justify their
Charge by
Law.

Saturday, *April* the 17. The *Earl* with his Council appeared at the Bar, being Mr. *Lane* the Princes Atturney, Mr. *Gardiner* Recorder of *London*, Mr. *Loe*, Mr. *Lighfoot*. Mr. *Lane* spake first, and insisted upon the Statute 25. of *Edward* 3. saying it was a Declarative Law, and such are not to be interpreted by way of consequence, equity, or construction, but by the expresse letter only. Again it was a penal Law, and such can admit of no constructions or inferences; for penalties are to enforce the keeping of known, not of conjectural and dubious Laws. Then he came to the *Salvo*, and affirmed, that in the sixt year of *Henry* the 4. a Petition was preferred in Parliament by the Nobility to have all Treason limited by Statute; that in that Parliament Chap. 10. an Act was made upon that Petition, That that *Salvo*

The *Earl* answered
by
Council.

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He is voted
by the Com-
mons guilty
of high Treason.

should be holden repealed in all times to come, and that nothing should be esteemed Treason, but what was literally contained within the Statute 25. of *Edward 3*. The Recorder said, he could add no more than what the former Council had spoken for matter of Law, but if their Lordships would state unto him some further Questions, he was ready to give his resolution according to his best ability. Upon which motion the Lords and Commons adjourned, not prefixing any time for their next meeting.

Nor was it of much import, for the Commons were resolved that day should set a total period to the Earles defence, and next to speed their Bill of Attainder, which was debated the 19. and the *Earl* voted guilty of high Treason upon the evidence of *Sir Henry Vane* and his notes, but the final and decretory vote past not against him, till the 21. upon the reading the Bill engrossed, at which time they went to the Poll, and took the names of the dissenters, the total amounting to 59, whereof the Lord *Digby* appeared most eminent, having spake much to the displeasure of the House in that particular. The Bill being passed the Lower House, long they would not let it rest there but that afternoon transmitted it to the Lords, who being slower paced in that concernment, were reminded of it the 24. with a desire they would nominate a time certain for the reading thereof, who returned answer, that on *Monday* and *Tuesday* next they would not fail to do it. And they were as good as their words, but it seemed to them so perplext a businesse, and started so many scruples, as they were enforced to request a conference with the Commons to resolve them; whereupon the Lower-house promised that Mr. *St. John* the Kings Solicitor should Thursday the 29. justify the Bill by Law, and give their Lordships an account of the reasons impelling them to that mode of proceeding; ordering also that the *Earl of Strafford* should then be present.

While these things were in agitation, the Parliament had addrest themselves to his Majesty in way of Petition for three things.

The Commons
Petition a-
gainst Papists.

- First, For removing of all Papists from Court.*
Secondly, For dis-arming of them generally throughout the Kingdom.
Thirdly, For dis-banding the Irish Army.

The Kings
Answer.

To all which the King the 28 delivered answer contractly thus:

For the first, they all knew what legal trust the

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the Crown hath in that particular, therefore he shall not need to say any thing to give them assurance that he shall use it so, as there shall be no just cause of scandal.

For the second, he is content it shall be done according to Law.

For the last, he had entred into consultation about it, and found many difficulties therein, and he doth so wish the dis-banding of all Armies, as he did conjure them speedily, and heartily to joyn with him in dis-banding those two in England:

The next day the *Earl* being brought to the Bar; the *Bill of Attainder* was read; and Mr. *St-John* opened the several branches thereof, affirming it to be legal, by many Presidents, and Acts of Parliaments, which he quoted. What effects the Solicitors arguments wrought, either in rendring the Earls Treasons more luminous and discernible, or in removing the former dysoppy and dimnesse of the Peers understanding; I am not able to say; but infallibly certain it is, they thenceforward shewed greater propensity towards the Earls condemnation, and clearly discovered it in their House the next day, whereof the King having notice thought it high time for him to interpose (lest silence should make him accessary to a fact so much condemned by his own conscience) and calling both Houses together *May* the 1. said.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I had no intention to have spoken to you of this businesse to day, which is the great businesse of the Earl of Strafford, because I would do nothing which might hinder your occasions. But now it comes to passe that I must of necessity have part

The Kings
Speech in de-
fence of the
Earle of
Strafford.

Ann Christ
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part in the judgement, I think it most necessary to declare my conscience therein.

I am sure you know I have been present at the hearing of this great cause, from one end to the other; and I must tell you that in my conscience I cannot condemn him of high Treason.

It is not fit for me to argue this businesse, I am sure you will not expect it; a positive Doctrine best becomes the mouth of a Prince, yet must I tell you three truths, which I am sure no man can tell so well as my self.

First, That I had never any intention of bringing over the Irish Army into England, nor ever was advised by any body so to do.

Secondly, That there was never any debate before me, either in publique Councell, or private Committee, of the disloyalty of my English Subjects, nor ever had I any suspicion of them.

Thirdly, That I was never counsell'd by any to alter the least of any of the Lawes of England, much less to alter all the Lawes. Nay I tell you this, I think nobody durst ever be so impudent as to move me to it. For if they had, I should have made them such an example, and put such a mark upon them, that all posterity should know my intentions by it, they being ever to govern by the Law, and no otherwise.

I desire rightly to be understood, for though I tell

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tell you in my conscience I cannot condemn him of high Treason, yet can I not clear him of misdemeanours; therefore I hope you may find out a way to satisfie justice, and your own fears, and not oppresse my conscience.

My Lords, I hope you know what a tender conscience is, and I must declare unto you, that to satisfie my People I would do great matters; but in this of conscience, neither fear, nor any other respect what soever, shall ever make me goe against it.

Certainly I have not deserved so ill of this Parliament at this time, that they should presse me in this tender point, therefore I cannot suspect you will go about it. Nay I must confesse for mis-demeanours I am so clear in them, that, though I will not chalk out the way, yet I will shew you, that I think my Lord of Strafford is not fit hereafter to serve me, or the Commonwealth, in any place of trust, no not so much as a Constable. Therefore I leave it to you, my Lords, to find out some such way as to bring me out of this straight, and keep your selves and the Kingdom from such inconveniences.

This Speech of his Majesty, as any other not formed of ingredients deleterious, was ill relisht by both Houses, so that they went away in much discontent.

The next day, May the 2. being Sunday, was the marriage solemnized between the Prince of Orange (who came to London April the 20.) and the Lady Mary, at White-hall, with agreeable triumphs.

The late disgust taken at the Kings last Speech, was not immanent,

The Prince of
Orange married
the Lady
Mary.

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A Tumult in
Westminster
crying for Ju-
stice against
the Earl.

A Protestation
framed by the
Commons.

A Bill pro-
pounded for
the continua-
tion of the
Parliament.

manent, it stayed not in the Parliament, but became transient and passed to the lower Row; and when the feculent part of the body politique is once stirred, it soon flies up to the disturbance of the whole: so it fared with some tumultuous Citizens, *May* the 3. who male-content at what the King had said, came down that morning to *Westminster*, to the number of five or six thousand, most armed with Swords, demanding justice of the Lords against the Earl of *Strafford*, complaining also that their trade was decayed, and they like to perish for want of bread, because justice was delayed. Their special application was to the Lord *Chamberlain*, who went out of his Coach, and with much adoe and large promises appeased their fury; nevertheless to strike the greater terror into all such as did not adhere to their party, they posted upon the gate of *Westminster*, a Catalogue of those whose suffrages were for the Earles acquittal, under the Title of *Straffordians*.

That day intimation was given to the House of Commons of some practices in the North to distract the English Army, and to render the Parliament displeasing to them; to encounter, and as a defensative against which, they fell presently upon consideration of a Protestation: for *maintenance of the true reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England; the power and privileges of Parliament, and liberty of the Subject.*

This Protestation being formed, was the next day read in the Lower House, and generally taken by all the members; then was it sent up to the Lords, who took it also, and an order was made for the printing and dispersing it over all *England*.

May the 5. there was an Offer made in the House of Commons by one of the Knights of *Lancashire*, that he would procure his Majesty the loan of 650000. *l.* untill such time as the Subsidies should be raised, if his Majesty would be pleased to passe a Bill that the Parliament might not be adjourned, prorogued or dissolved, without the consent of both Houses, until the general grievances of this Kingdom were redrest. This motion occasioned a great debate, and seemed to be of that importance, as presently order was given for a bill to be drawn up in pursuance of it.

That evening the Lords sent a message to the Commons, certifying that they had considered, and consulted upon the Bill of Attainder, but found it the safest course to lay the same aside, because it brought the King in as Judge, wherefore they agreed to fall upon the several Articles of his Accusation, and would the next day send them their final resolution.

The next morning, *May* the 6. 26. Lords of 45. then present, being

being directed by the opinions of the Judges, voted the Earl of *Strafford* guilty of high Treason, upon two Articles; the 15. for *levying of monies in Ireland by force in a warlike manner*, and upon the 19. for *imposing an Oath upon the subjects in Ireland*, and gave thereof speedy information to the House of Commons, who were then exceeding busie about the Bill for the continuation of the *Parliament*, which the next day being compleatly voted, was sent to the Lords for their conjunction with them, withall requesting they would hasten it with all convenient speed, in regard they desired that and the Bill of Attainder might be signed together.

In this concernment the Lords needed no great stimulation of resolves, the design was plausible, no criticisines of law to be discust, no difficulties to be contended with, so that *May* the 8. they were in state to acquaint the Commons that they fully concurred with them in these Votes also; whereupon a conference ensued, at which it was resolved that some *Lords* should be dispatched with those Bills to his *Majesty*, and to request his Answer: which was accordingly done, and the King told them they should receive his Answer on Monday following.

The Sunday intervening was no *Sabbath*, no day of Rest to the King, who never found the Royal office so presse upon, yea so oppress him as at that instant; infinitely was he distracted between a *People* and a *Conscience*, both male-content, both equally clamorous, one for *Mercy*, the other for *Justice*; his passion was most intense for both; please both he could not, and to displease either pierced his very soul. In this anxiety, in this perplexity of thoughts, he sends that forenoon for five Bishops; Four (*viz. London, Durham, Lincoln and Carlisle*) appeared, the fifth, the Lord Primat of *Armagh*, then in the Pulpit in the church of *Covent-Garden*, when the Messenger came craved excuse until he had dispatched that sacred Exercise. The Afternoon he spent in consultation with the Lords of his Privy Council and the Judges upon the same account: at the Evening the *Bishops*, now five, were called in, and the great Question re-enforced, the legal latitude of the *Kings* mercy to save, nor the Reason or expediency of *State*, which might urge the contrary, were not so much as offered to their Judgement, nor to their advice: these were already stated by the Counsel and Judges. The Bishops were only to resolve whether or not the King might, his conscience intire, passe the Bill against the Earl. The Bishops determined thus, That the matters of *Fact* and *Law* were to stand apart. For the first, his Majesties presence at all the proceedings might enable him to passe his judgement, and if his judgement informed him the Earl was guiltless, he might not in conscience condemn him. For the last, being matter of Law,

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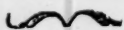


The Earl voted by the Lords guilty of high Treason,

The two Bills tendred to the King.

He is much perplext what answer to return.

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what was Treason, what not, the Judges they said were obliged by their Oaths to direct him. This was the total result of their joynt Opinions. There was indeed a writing put into his Majesties hand by the Bishop of *Lincoln*, but what the contents thereof were, he never imparted to his other associates. Thus the *Bishops* transmitting his Majesty to the *Judges*, and they having formerly declared the *Earl* was, *upon the whole matter*, guilty, his Majesty was partly perswaded, though not fully convinced, to passe the *Bill*.

But the motive Paramount and superiour to all was a Letter he received that very day from the *Earl* himself, wherein he thus concludes.

SIR,

The Earl
himself desires
the King to
pass the Bill.

(To set your Majesties conscience at liberty) I do most humbly beseech you, for the preventing of such mischiefs as may happen by your refusal, to passe the Bill. By this means to remove, praised be God, I cannot say this *accursed*, but I confesse this *unfortunate Thing* forth of the way towards that blessed agreement which God* (I trust) shall for ever establish betwixt you and your Subjects. Sir, my consent herein shall more acquit you to God, than all the world can do besides : To a willing man there is no injury done. And as by Gods grace I forgive all the world with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul ; so, Sir, I can give up the life of this world with all cheerfulness imaginable, in the just acknowledgement of your exceeding favours, and only beg, that in your goodness you would vouchsafe to cast your gracious regard upon my poor Son and his three Sisters, less or more, and no otherwise than their unfortunate Father shall appear more or lesse guilty of this death. God preserve your Majesty.

Your Majesties most humble and faithful
Subject and Servant,

S T R A F F O R D.

Monday

Monday May the 10. in the morning his Majesty signed a Commission to the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Privie Seal, the Lord Chamberlain and others for the passing of the two Bills, one for the continuation of the Parliament during the pleasure of the two Houses. The other was the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford; but this with an *Vinam nescirem literas*. Never any act past from him with greater reluctancy at the present, or which he bewailed afterward with greater remorse of conscience, then the frailty of that Concession. True it is, he had all the outward motives to it that could be wished, the vehement importunity of his Nobles, the opinion of the grave Judges, a pretended urgent necessity in order to the satisfaction of his people, yea and the Earls Petition; But what were all these while his conscience remained unsatisfied? Princes may, and ought to hold intelligence, to keep correspondence with their subjects; but be their advice as sound as may be, yet still must it be *Le Roy*, not *Le Peuple veut*; the Counsel may be theirs, the Command must be the Sovereigns. Minatory affronts must not subdue, nor compliance with their subjects persuade them to concessions repugnant to the dictates of their own consciences. It was excellently said by another Man, not by another King, *That it is a bad exchange to wound a mans own conscience, thereby to salve State-sores*; a maxime so infallibly true, that the first experiment we have in sacred writ of the contrary being acted by the first of Israels Kings; cost him no lesse than the losse of his Kingdom, and all upon that solitary account, because, *He feared the People, and obeyed their voice*. So fatal is it for a Prince sometimes to resign a complacence to popular lust.

As his Majesties reflexes upon this concession, were never without great regret: so many behold his passing the concomitant Bill not a little destructive to his Regal interest, and consequently to his person, as without which the Parliament could never have been in state, and capacity to act what they did against him. On the other side it was argued by others; That his Majesty was not worsted, but rather a gainer by that grant; That it raised in the Subject still further assurance of his clear intentions to the common-good; That it precluded the entertainment of sinister thoughts against him; That it impowered the Parliament only to sit during pleasure; That his denial would have generated ill boding jealousies, and turbulent animosities; That had it come to the pitch, and had his Majesty endeavoured to dissolve the Assembly, probably the Parliament would have disputed his power, and have asserted it as incident to the office of so great Trustees of the Kingdome, still to continue Session in times menacing the ruine of the Kingdom. Did not the late Parliament of Scotland

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1 Sam. 15.

Censures upon his passing the Bill for the Parliaments continuation.

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positively declare as much, in the concernment of that Kingdom? And *Scotland* it is well known gave the rule to *England* in most of her late actions.

The Kings compliance with his people, and acting yesterday to the extremity of Justice, could not alter his more natural disposition to Mercy, he had still a passion most vehement for her; and was resolved upon all occasions to act in favour of it; hereupon he this day *May* the 11. wrote to the Lords this Letter, the bearer whereof was no meaner person than the *Prince of Wales*.

My Lords,

The Kings
Letter in be-
half of the
Earl.

I did yesterday satisfy the Justice of the Kingdome by passing the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of *Strafford*. But Mercy being as inherent and inseparable to a *King*, as Justice, I desire in some measure to shew that likewise, by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the natural course of his life in close imprisonment; yet so, that if he ever make the least offer to escape; or offer directly or indirectly to meddle in any sort of publique business, especially with me, either by message or Letter, it shall cost him his life without further proceffe. This *if it may be* done without the discontentment of my people, will be an unspeakable contentment to me.

To which end, as in the first place, I by this Letter do earnestly desire your approbation, and to endear it the more, have chosen him to carry it, who is of all your House most dear unto me: So I desire that by conference you will endeavour to give the House of Commons

The Reign of King Charles.

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mons contentment likewise, assuring you that the exercise of Mercy is no more pleasing to me, then to see both Houses of Parliament consent for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the Law in so important a Case.

I will not say that your complying with me in this my intended mercy, shall make mee more willing, but certainly it will make me more cheerful in granting your just grievances. But if no lesse then his life can satisfie my people, I must say *Fiat Justitia*. Thus again recommending the consideration of my intentions to you, I rest

Your unalterable

And affectionate friend,

Charles R.

If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till *Saturday*.

Upon

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Upon the receit of this from his Majesty, the Lords exprest themselves the same day as followeth.

May the 11. 1641.

The Lords ex-
pression con-
sequent to this
Letter.

THis Letter all written with the Kings own hand, we the *Peers* this day received in Parliament, delivered by the hands of the *Prince*. It was twice read in the House, and after serious, but sad consideration, the House resolved presently to send twelve of the *Peers*, messengers to the King, humbly to signifie that neither of the two intentions exprest in the Letter, could with duty in us, or without danger to his consort the Queen, and all the young Princes their Children, be possibly admitted. Which being accomplished, and more expressions offered, His Majesty suffered no more words to come from us, but out of the fullnesse of his heart to the observance of Justice, and for the contentment of his people, told us, that *what he intended by his Letter was with an If, If it may be done without discontentment to his people. If it cannot be, I say again the same that I wrote, Fiat Justitia.*

My other intention proceeding out of Charity for a few dayes respite, was upon certain information that his Estate was so distracted that it necessarily required some few days respite for settlement thereof.

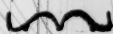
Whereunto the *Lords* answered, their purpose was to be suters to his Majesty for favour to be shewed to his innocent Children, And if himself had made any provision for them, that the same might hold. This was well pleasing to his Majesty, who hereupon departed from the Lords. At his Majesties departure, we offered up into his hands the Letter it self which he had sent. But he pleased to say, *What I have written to you, I shall be*

The Reign of King Charles.

271

be content it be registred by you in your House. In it you see my minde, I hope you will use it to mine honour.

Anno Christi
1641.



This, upon return of the Lords from the King, was presently reported to the House by the Lord Privie Seal.

The Earl
brought to the
Scaffold.

Wednesday *May* the 12. was appointed to give the fatal period to the Life of this most unhappy Earl. He was conveyed from the Tower by a Court of Guard, formed of the Trained bands. Before him went the Marshalls men, next the Sheriffes Officers with halberts, then the Warders of the Tower, then the Earls Gentleman Usher bare-headed, and next him the Earl himself accompanied with the Primate of *Armagh* and others. Upon his first comming forth being to passe near the Archbishops lodging (who stood at the window waiting for his approach) he lifted up his eyes, and espying the Archbishop, made low obeisance towards him, saying withall, *My Lord your prayers and your blessing.* The Archbishop had scarce ability to lift up his hands and heart in the apprecation, so soon did extremity of passion strike him into a leipothyraie and swounding fit. This was thought by some an argument of too much pusillanimity in so grave a Christian; but the Archbishop said, he doubted not but when his own turn came, God would so strengthen him that he should tast that bitter cup with a most Christian courage.

The Earl proceeding further, and the passage more thronged with people, he heard a great noise amongst the crowd, demanding, *which is he?* with that, his countenance all composed to meeknesse, off he puts his hat, and said, *I am the man good people,* not shewing the least emotion of mind at the Question.

Being brought to the Scaffold he addrest his Speech to the Lord Primate, summarily to this effect;

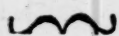
My Lord,

I am come hither by the good will and pleasure of the Almighty, to pay that last debt

His last
Speech.

I

Anno Christi
1641.



I owe to sin. And to submit to that judgement which hath past against me. I do it with a very contented and quiet mind; I thank God, I do freely forgive all the world. I thank God I can say it, and truly too, my conscience bearing me witnesse, that in all my imployment, since I had the honour to serve his Majesty, I never had any thing in the purpose of my heart, but what tended to the joynt and individual prosperity of King and People, although it hath beene my ill fortune to be mis-construed.

There is one thing I desire to free my self of, and I am confident I shall obtain your Christian charity in the belief of it. I was so far from being against Parliaments, That I did alwayes think the Parliaments of England, were the most happy constitutions that any Kingdome or Nation lived under, and the best means, under God, to make the King and People happy.

For my death I here acquit all the world, and beseech the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though in the intentions & purposes of my heart I am not guilty of what I dye for. And it is a great comfort for me, that his Majesty conceives me not meriting so heavy a punishment as this.

I wish this Kingdom all prosperity and happiness,

Anno Christi
1641.

pinesse, and desire every one who hears me to consider seriously, whether the reformation of a Kingdom should be written in letters of blood. Let me never be so unhappy, as that the least drop of my blood should rise up in judgement against any of you. But I fear you are in the wrong way.

I profess that I die a true and obedient son of the Church of England wherein I was born, and in which I was bred. Peace and prosperity be ever to it.

This said, he desired all present to assist him in his prayers, wherein he continued near a quarter of an hour, then rising up, he bad all his friends farewell, especially by name his brother Sir George Wentworth, by whom he sent his love to his wife, and blessing to his children, willing him to charge his son, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church.

Then he addrest himself to the block, and having prayed a while, he gave the Executioner the token of his preparednesse, whereat the Heads-man doing his office, severed his head from his body at the first stroke. Thus died this unhappy Earl. And to die thus, by the stroke of Justice, cannot but consign him up to posterity under some more horrid Character; yet lest that blemish should overspread all his fame (drawing aside the traverse) I shall (and I hope without just offence to any) represent such excellences as were in him impaled with, and which might seem if not to ballance, yet somewhat alleviate his other failings.

A Gentleman he was of rare, choice and singular endowments, I mean of such as modelled, fashion'd, and accomplish'd him for State concerns; of a searching and penetrating judgment, nimble apprehension, ready and fluent in all results of counsel. Most happy in the vein of speech, which was always round, perspicuous, and expresse; much to the advantage of his sense, and so full stockt with reason, that he might be rather said to demonstrate; than to argue. As these abilities rais'd him to State administration, so his addressing, his applying those abilities so faithfully in promotion of the Royal interest, soon rendred him a Favorite of the first admission. So that never King had a more intelligent, and withall a firmer servant than he was to his Master. But these qualities which rendred him so amiable to his Majesty, represented him formidable to the Scots, so that some who were not well per-

His charact.

Anno Christi.
1641.

swaded of the justnesse of his sentence, thought he suffered not so much for what he had done already, as for what he was like to have done, had he lived, to the disservice of that Nation; and that he was not sacrificed so much to the *Spots revenge*, as to their fear. And certainly his fall was, as the first, so the most fatal wound the Kings interest ever received. His three Kingdoms not affording another *Strafford*, that is, one man his peer in parts and fidelity to his Majesty. He had a singular passion for the Government, and Patrimony of the Church, both which he was studious to preserve safe and sound, either opining them to be of sacred extraction, or at least prudent constitutions relating to holy performances. And had he wanted these positive graces, yet in so great a person, it may be commendable, that he was eminent for privative and negative excellencies, being not taxable with any vice, whether it was that those petty pleasures are beneath the satisfaction of a soul such as his, and of so large a stature; or that grace had put a restraint upon his appetite. In short, he was a Man who might have passed under a better notion, had he lived in other times; or had he in these played his byas another way.

Cætera desiderantur.

ERRATA.

Fol. 3. l. 22. read *Segovia*, fol. 6. l. 25. dele *then*, fol. 77. l. 7. r. *petitioned*, fol. 78. l. 7. r. *assent*, Fol. 113. l. 6. r. *of his*, fol. 119. l. 17. r. *too*, fol. 124. l. 34. r. *still*, fol. 127. l. 4. r. *Danish*, ibid. l. 6. r. *English*, ibid. l. 9. r. *became*, fol. 137. l. penult. r. *intestine*, fol. 138. l. 9. r. *bearing*, ib. l. 20. r. *scrues*, fol. 139. l. 4. r. *byes*, fol. 142. l. 40. r. *modell'd*, fol. 143. l. 15. r. *dacerv'd*, fol. 147. l. 6. r. *near by*, fol. 164. l. 46. r. *cross the Seas she would*, fol. 208. l. 35. r. *breaches*, fol. 220. l. 8. r. *having*.

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THE
OBSERVATOR
OBSERVED:

OR,
ANIMADVERSIONS
UPON THE
OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORY
OF
KING CHARLES.

WHEREIN
That HISTORY is Vindicated, partly Illustrated,
And severall other things tending to the Rectification
of some publique mistakes, are inserted.

To which is added, at the latter end, the
OBSERVATORS Rejoinder.

Οὐ πᾶσι γε βέλτερόν ἐστιν εὐρεῖν ἔργον, ἢ τὸ ἕκαστον τῆς αἰτίας ἔχει.
Ξενοφών Ἀπομνημον. Βιβλ. γ.

JAMES Chap. 3. v. 8.
But the Tongue can no man tame.

LONDON,
Printed by T. C. for Edm. Dod, and are to be sold at the
Gunne in Ivy-lane. 1656.

THE
OBSERVATIONS
ON

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON THE HISTORY

KING CHARLES

That history is a study of the past
And a well ordered thing leading to the redemption
of the human mind and heart.

To which is added, at the latter end, the
OBSERVATIONS

ON THE HISTORY

But the longer we are, the more we are


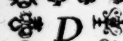
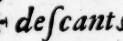

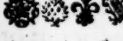
LONDON

Printed by T. C. for E. D. and are to be sold at the
Globe in 1744.



TO the READER.

Gentle Reader,

 I D I not tell thee so? That some [Oblique
 D  descants would come traverse upon my honest
 Narrative.] Those Oblique descents are
 the Observations mentioned in the Title-leaf,
being descants oblique enough, not onely upon my
Narrative, but upon or rather against King Charles; so
that the Title of his Pamphlet might rather have been
formed into the Observations against King Charles,
then Observations upon his History. These Observati-
ons are Usber'd in with an addresse to the worthily
esteemed, my self. In this Addresse I read my Charge,
and it is this, [Either my Intelligence or my diligence
hath failed me, or my judgement is not well informed,
or I have been byassed from the Mark of Truth by the
excess and transport of mine own affections.] Having
thus bespattered me, he seems desirous to wash me clean
again with a little of his holy water, saying [he hath
my parts & person in an high esteem] but in very truth
the mysterie of the businesse is, to make the world be-
lieve I am worthy the overcoming. If in this I mistake,
and the man be real, yet I heartily wish he would here-
after spare that cost of compliment, which is but cast
away on me, who value his bits as little as his knocks.
And this is all I shall say to his Epistle. Next he should
come to open the evidence of his Accusation; but he is
staid, see how.

The Observer Observed.

Page. 1.

Observer. *I thought it fit to prepare the way by offering some considerations at the Authors Stile, which by reason of many lofty words, no English reader can climb over.*

Answer. Stile, unknown, lofty, and climb over! Here's a wooden conceit made by as wooden an Observer, who, had not his head (all but the face) been made of blocks, or had he consulted ancient Authors, he might have known that the word *stile* used by writers, was not made of wood, as this observer supposeth, but of mettall; the very same with his own face, one end whereof was serviceable as a pen, the other as a knife to race or scrape out what was amisse. As to those lofty words, I declare to all the world, this, not uningenuous acknowledgment, that having conversed with Authors of the Noblest and cheif Remarque in several languages, not onely their nations, but their very words, especially being of the most elegant import, became at length so familiar with me, as when I apply'd my self to that present work, I found it very difficult to renounce my former acquaintance with them; but as they freely offred themselves, so I entertain'd them upon these considerations. First, I was confident that amongst learned men they needed no other passe then their own extraction. And for those who were meer English readers I saw no reason they should wonder at them, considering that for their satisfaction, I had sent along with every forreigner his interpreter to serve instead of a Dictionary.

Then I had observed that our language had of late already admitted very neer all of them into so frequent use in ordinary discourse, as almost amounted to a Naturalization of them amongst us.

Lastly, I was perswaded, so long as my Narrative was evenly carri'd, and tolerably true, a canded Reader would have pardoned that blemish of my Stile, especially such an one as takes notice that two Historians *Livy* and *Salust* lie under the same censure; the first for his *Patavinity*, as *Asinius* called it, the other for his obsolete words extracted from *Cato de Originibus*, as *Augustus* said; yet notwithstanding are by some thought to carry away the Garland from all their fellows.

The premises considered, I shall demand of the Observer in the words of his own *Horace, de arte Poetica.*

*Ego cur acquirere, pauca
Si possum invidior, cum lingua Catonis & Enni
Sermone patrum distaveris, & nova rerum
Nomina protuleris.* i. e.

If

If I a word or two new forge, what then?
So did old *Cato* and elder *Ennius*; Men
Who on old things imposing names new-coyn'd,
Rendred the Roman language more refin'd.

Page. 7.

Fol. 2. To whom the Prince returned answer that he would im-
power the Earl of Bristow to give his Majesty all satisfaction in that
particular] That is to say (for so it must be understood in the words
foregoing) that he would make a Proxy to the Earl of Bristow to
celebrate (in his name) the marriage with the Lady Infanta. But
there was no such Proxy made to the Earl of Bristow, that being a
power and trust thought worthy of the Catholique King and Don.
Charles his Brother, as appeareth plainly, &c.

Answer. What a do is here about nothing? Had the Ob-
servator well considered and advised with the next page
(the third) he might have found there, that I no lesse then
twice spoke of the Earls delivering up the Proxy, clearly im-
porting it was onely in his custody to consign to another, and
that was indeed to the King of Spain only, not to him and
Don Charles, as the Observator saith, of whom I would gladly
learn, who that Don Charles was, he being the first Don Charles,
I, or I think, any else ever heard of. So that here the Observa-
tor was out himself, I take it.

Page. 9.

Fol. 5. England ever found the Spaniard a worse friend then
enemy] for this I think you have no reason; the amity and corre-
spondence between these Nations having continued firm for many a-
ges and never broke (if not now of late) but by the English or on
these occasions. First by the invasion of Spain by the Black Prince,
&c.

Answer. What I spake here of England, any faire-manner'd
Interpreter will judge to be meant of England in the quality
she then and now is, that is, in the state of Reformation, of
which I hope there is no doubt, and the Observator seems to
confesse it.

Page. 10.

Ibid. Who perceiving upon the whole sum that the sly Spaniard pre-
sided to make an aftergame of the Palatinate] King James was
not to be told that, now reserved as an aftergame, but yet intended to
be play'd by the Spanish Court to the more honour and advantage of
the English; for thus I find it in a letter from the Earl of Bristow,
Oct. 28. For the businesse of the Palatinate &c. These words
give me no small assurance of the integrity and good meaning of
the Court of Spain.

Answer.

Answer. Whither or not King James was to be told this, now I do not determine; sure I am, told he was of it. And whereas the Observator is become a stout advocate for the Spanish faith, in the point both of the match and the Pallatine, had he perused the letter of King Philip the third to the Conde of Olivares extant in the last Cabala, and recited in Parliament, he might there have found that neither was sincerely intended, but meerly delays sought for by the Spaniard to accomplish his perfidious ends. And as for Bristowes letter insisted upon by the Observator, it signifyeth nothing to the vindication of the Spanish faith; that Earl being articulated against in Parliament for abusing both the King and Prince with a false persuasion of Spains sincerity.

Page. 12.

Fol. 4. Which being new, and the businesse propounded, it was entertain'd with an unanimous consent and a motion made that an Ambassador should be sent over to negotiate that Treaty] I somewhat doubt of your intelligence, the marriage of the Prince containing such a branch of the Royal Prerogative as King James was not likely to communicate with his Houses of Parliament. For when he was Petitioned by both Houses not long before, that for the avoyding of some dangers which did seem to threaten the whole Kingdom, he would marry the Prince to a Lady of the Protestant Religion, he entertain'd the motion with no small disdain.

Answer. The Logick of the Observator! The King was angry when the Parliament moved him concerning the marriage of the Prince. Ergo (which is in English therefore) he would not communicate with them in one of his own liking. Again, it was no more lessening of his Prerogative to communicate with them in the entrance into, then in the breach of a Treaty of that nature, as he did in that of Spain, which was the main businesse debated in the Parliament, 21. Jac.

Page. 13.

Ibid. In the stile of the Court he went for Great Britaines Solomon] That he was Great Solomon, that is to say, either the wisest man or wisest King of the British Nation, I am not Courtier enough to defend or say. It is true indeed that he much pleased himself with boasting of his King-Craft; but I have heard many wise men say that they could never find what that King-Craft was.

Answer. The Observator here falls foul upon King James, inveighing against and withal detracting from his King-Craft: Pity it is his Observations came so tarde into the world, that Squire Sanderson took no notice of them in this particular, who would else have taught him either more wit or manners.

Page. 14.

Page. 14.

Fol. 5. *A stout adversary he was to the Arminians, and Semi-pelagians whom he call'd, as Prosper before him, the enemies of Gods grace*] In this short Sentence, there are many things to be considered. 1. *What these Arminians were which our Author speaks of.* 2. *Whether they were the enemies of Gods grace, or not.* 3. *What the Reason was, why King James shew'd himself so great an adversary to them.*

Answer. In the persuance of these three particulars, the Observer spends not lesse then 10. pages, wherein though I am very little concerned, yet I shall take the liberty to observe these few things. First, he saith St. *Augustines* zeal against the *Pelagian* heresy, transported him into inconvenient expressions. It were a very proper work, for this Observer, to instance to us those inconvenient expressions, and to undertake the confutation of him, as he is presented to the world by *Jansenius*. Secondly, he imputeth to them of *Calvins* way, this opinion that a man is forcibly drawn and irresistibly with the cords of grace, in the work of conversion. Let him produce the men *who*, and *where* they say it. They take away indeed an actual resistance of the will, as inconsistent, *simul & semel*, with efficacious grace, but none I think assert this irresistibility the Observer mentioneth; Nor is this all, but *they hold also*, saith he, *that man contributeth nothing to his own eternity*. A thing I am confident never declared *in terminis* by any; but seeing the man seems to account it as one of their errors, I would gladly learn, and have the Observer explain this Metaphysical whimwham, how Eternity (for so he saith, not *Salvation*) can *recipere majus & minus*, receive either augmentation, or diminution from man. Lastly, he endeavoureth to shew that King James was much governed by Doctor *Mountague*, Bishop of *Winchester*, who being of a contrary perswasion, put him upon many harsh and severe expressions against those poor men. But this *Mountague* being dead, he began to shew himself more favourable unto those opinions, especially upon the coming out of a book, of another *Mountague* then Prebend of *Windsor*; whose judgment in those points he liked very well. A thing most unlikely; for in Theological controversies, it is well known King James was able enough to go alone, & needed not like a child, be led up and down by the hanging sleeves from one opinion to the other, by either the one or the other. And whereas Mr. *Mountague* is made the man who first reformed King James his judgement, I offer it to consideration, how probably it is asserted, when *An. 1628.* this Mr. *Mountague* then Bishop, together

See the
Additions.

gether with Dr. Neal Bishop of Winchester, being Remonstrated to the King, as abettors of those Tenets, and the King declaring dislike of those Novelties, both he and the other Bishop; with tears in their eyes, protesting, *they hated those opinions*, and before his Majesty and his Council on their knees, renounced them. So Sr. Humphrey Mildmay averred in open Parliament *30 Caroli nomine contradicente*, No one near the Chair contradicting.*

Page. 25.

Fol. 6. *The Kings Corps on the 4th. of May was conveyed to Westminster, and there inhumed &c.* Our Author tells us in the end of his Preface, what a special care he hath of his temporalitie; and yet he failes us here in the first beginning. For neither was the body of the King interred on the 4th. of May, nor the letters of procuration kept undelivered until the 8th. nor the Marriage Celebrated after the Funeral of the King. For upon Sunday, May the first, &c.

Answer. That the 4th. of May was put for the 7th. is confessed to be a mistake; and it must be either in the Printer, or, a meer clip of my pen, for that I intended it so; I have these reasons to perswade the contrary. First, all my informations, not one (and four they were) dissenting fixt, the Kings interment on the 7th. and I were a mad Historian, to vary in so impertinent a matter, from those informations. Secondly, my mentioning that that solemnity would be past *May* the 8th. may probably imply, I intended to assign the 7th. for it, for else the 5th. day had been more proper. But this is not all, I am mistaken also in the celebration of the marriage; which though at first designed to be on the 8th. as I am able in fallibly to demonstrate, was as I am now informed, on the first of *May* as we account. So that two errors are in point of temporality here acknowledged.

Page. 27.

Fol. 7. *From Canterbury his Majesty took Coach for Whitehall where the third day after his arrival* If our Author meaneth by this, that their Majesties went in Coach but some part of the way only, he should then have said so, their Majesties passing no farther then Graves end, and from thence went by water in their Royal Barges, &c.

Answer. What I meant here any ordinary capacity may know, which is able to discern the difference between the taking Coach to, and for *Whitehal*.

Page. 28.

Fol. 8. *For as a man is without a female consort, so is a King without*

without his supream counsell an half-form'd steril thing] Our Author in these words, and the rest that follow, maintains a Paradox most dangerous to supream Authority, in making Parliaments so necessary to all Acts of State, as if Kings could do nothing without their consent.

Answer. I hope no man of any ingenuity, will interpret me here or elsewhere, an enemy to Monarchy; or doth so much as question but that my *Politique Descendants* imply Statute-laws, which I am of opinion, no King of England hath power to make without common consent in Parliament.

Page. 26.

Fol. 17. And who (i. e. Sr. Robert Mansel) had an unquestionable right to the cheif conduct of this enterprise upon the Dukes default] I believe not so.

Answer. The Observators contrary believe is no evidence, who was never made an *Arbitrator* in the businesse; nor is it to others so strange a thing; many men of wisdom, and long experience, still holding it for a *Rule*, not onely in this particular, but in all such as have *vicariam potestatem*, a *vicegerency*.

Page. 37.

Fol. 20. And the first thing resolved upon was his solemn Inittiation into Regality &c.] *Observator.* As solemn as the King esteemed it, yet our Author as it seems, thinks more poorly of it; for he censureth it for a vanity, and thinks that kings are idle in it. Are not all Christian Kings concerned in this? &c.

Answer. Why I call this *Inauguration* a serious vanity, I declare the Reason; because it conferreth no one dram of solid grandure to the Throne, Kings being perfect Kings, and qualified fully to all intents of Royalty without it. Will the *Observator* deny this? if so, let him consult the Lord Chancellor *Egerions Postnati*, where he shall find the same asserted: Yet lest some such *Cavillers* should quarrel at my inclination, I added *serious* to it, importing there was somewhat in it of solid signification. Nor are all Christian Kings concerned in this. His Catholick Majesty of Spain, is not so much as touched, who is not Crowned at all.

Page. 39.

Fol. Ibid. The Lord Keeper Williams was displaced, and his place disposed of to Sr. Thomas Coventry] *Observator.* Our Author is here out again in his Temporalities; for the great Seal was taken from him in October, three months before. The like mistake he proves in his Temporalities, touching Bishop Laud whom

be make Bishop of Bath and Welles; who was then Bishop of St. Davids.

Answer. The fall of Lord Keeper *Williams*, I never say'd or intended to be in that moment of time, to which that Paragraph relates; but principally purposing to deliver therein his and others exclusion from the Parliament, I mentioned also his fall as a thing preceding, and no way concurring with the other. So I was not out in this *Temporality*; but if I was not, I am afraid I know who is, in affirming [the great Seal was taken from him in *October*] whereas he parted with it in *August*, as Mr. *Howel* in his familiar letters, *Señ. 4. l. 23.* relates. But in making Dr. *Land* Bishop of Bath and Welles at that time, I confesse I was mistaken, and this is *grande nefas*, an horrid crime no doubt. But, this is not all; for rather then he will not find another, the Observer fetcheth a running leap to *Fol. 96.* where speaking of the *Articles of Lambeth*, it is said [they were first sent to the Synod of *Dort*, and after that to the Convocation of *Ireland*; a very strange *Hysteron Proteron*, Setting the Convocation of *Ireland* after the Synod of *Dort*, which preceded it three years; and this is somewhat more then superannuating in his *Temporalities*] *Answer.* I write the *History of the Reign of King Charles*, and then what I said of that superannuating, was by me intended (nor can it be rationally interpreted otherwaies) of such things and actions as have reference to the sixteen years whereof I treat in that History, not of such things as antecedently occur'd, & are taken in by the *By*: for I have oft occasion to mention things of preceding date, as in the case of the *Scottish Presbytery*, wherein though I am guided by the best informers I had, yet will I not, nor did ever so mean, to warrant the truth thereof, as to every particular year. So it fareth in this error, in point of precedency between a *Convocation* and a *Synod*; whereof to raise a question is only to strive *de Lana Caprina*, and is at worst *μυροβόλον ἀνδρογυνή*, but a meer laps of memory; a thing as obvious, so withal excusable in the best *Authors* in point of circumstance; in such an one especially as this, wherein (as being extravagant, and out of the bounds of the Principal Narrative) curiosity was lesse concerned. And this is I hope enough to keep this error within the bounds of my confidence of not superannuating, were the error infallibly mine own. But if now after all this ranting triumph, upon a *melius inquirendum*, and better search, the error should prove none of mine, would not the Observer, think you Reader, be wondrous blank at his *Ridiculus Mus*. Resort to, and Review the place; then tell me, whether or not in your unbyast sense, That Paragraph with the former, and three subsequent to it, do not

not, or were not so intended, to compleat the report of the Committee for Religion. If so, then my information hath wronged me, or I my information. Now for my wronging my information (for I must walk circumspectly, so many snares being laid to entrap me) take this ingenuous account. As for this report, it being very long, I thought fit to contract it into a narrow scantling, not minding the words, so I secured the substance. And if I have fail'd in this, if I have delivered any thing material, which those Journals will not own, let me suffer; and to speak here to the purpose, I appeal to Mr. Pym his speech Jan. the 27. in those Journals, where my Coppy (though erroneously I grant) presents these Articles sent to Dort, before Ireland; so much in defence of my not superannuating in this particular. Now I come to relieve my Preface out of the Observators Purgatory, which hath tortured it sufficiently, by saying *I am confident I stand secure, not only from substantial falsehoods, but from circumstantial also*; whereas this is his Preface, not mine; for *male dum recitat*, the property is alter'd faith the Epigrammatist, my words being expressly these, *Confident I am, I stand secure against any substantial falsehoods; and I hope (now that 'tis no more then I hope) against circumstantial also.* *quæ res aranditas*, Phy impudent Observer, relish it as you please; for *cum dixeris quod vis, audies quod non vis*, if you will take upon you thus, *garrere per angulos & de mundo ferre sententiam*, to sneak behind noon, and there give judgment upon all the world, you must look when you fail and forge so foully, to be told of it to your teeth.

Page. 41.

Fol. 21. *Who loved the Bishop if fame belies her not, better then was fit*] Observer. *I think our Author with more prudence might have spared this note, especially having Fame onely for the ground thereof, which is so infamous an Historian.*

Answer. True it is, Fame is not alwaies an infallible informer, some Rumors being begot by *Malice*, and nursed up by *Credulity*: But yet true it is, that she is sometimes a Publique Testimony: and the wise *Tacitus*, though he erects no Historical structures upon her bare affidavit, yet doth present her in the like concerns, for an Author of a second Admission. How far she stands guilty of the crime of Defamation in reference to that Lady, I list not to enquire. Sure I am Mr. Wilsons *Eunuchus ab utero* was a clearer acquittance of that Ladies Innocence, then any Argument by the Observer produced; and I must tell him it seemeth not at all ridiculous to any one who had a more inward knowledge of that Prelates condition. Mr. Wilson went indeed too far in the ex-

traction of Bishop *Williams* his impotency which was not *ab utero* from the womb, but contracted after when he was a boy by falling upon a stake; whereof the Observer may be further assured, please he to enquire.

Page. 48.

Fol. 45. *For the Lords found an antient Order, that no Lords sedente Parlamento, should have voice during that Session &c. whereupon their suffrage was excluded*] Observer. *I somewhat doubt our Authors intelligence in this particular.*

Answer. Matters of fact must not be born down with I believe, or I conceive; if the Observer can from the records themselves demonstrate my error, I recant.

Page. 51.

Fol. 64. *But all would not smooth the asprity of this illegal Tax*] Observer. *The money which was then required of the Subject, was not imposed in the way of Taxe, but a Loan.*

Answer. Taxe in common speech is taken for a Compulsory Tribute, imposed upon the Subject, at a certain rate; and such a Taxe this Loan was, it being so cumpulsory, as the refusers were by special instructions bound over to the Council-board and imprison'd.

Page. 55.

Fol. 71. *And a Commission granted by the King to five Bishops, B. Laud being of the Quorum, to execute Archi-Episcopal Jurisdiction. The cause impulsive to it was a supposed irregularity &c.*] Observer. *In this and the rest which followeth, our Author runs himself into many errors. First, Bishop Laud was not of the Quorum, no more then any of the other. Secondly, the irregularity supposed, was not touched upon in the Commission. Thirdly, it was not his keeper but the Lord Zouches he kill'd in Bramhil Park, &c.*

Answer. What four errors at a clap? that's ill luck; yet it was well they proved no more, for he that made them four, might have made them by the same art of juggling his words into my Text, four hundred. Let him keep his own supposititious foystings at home, my errors will not multiply so fast. Now first, where did I say Bishop Laud was of the Quorum more then any other? of the Quorum, I said he was, meaning that of the five he was one. Secondly, where did I say that the Irregularity was expressed in the Commission, as the impulsive to it? I said it was the declared impulsive to the Commission, and if it was not, or these had been any other, the Observer should have done well to have discover'd. * Lastly, whereas I said the Archbishop kill'd his Keeper, Mr. Prynn in his Bre-

* See the Additions.

vians of Archbishop *Lauds* life, p. 11. and *Antives Coquinariae*, p. 130. expressly say it was *his* Keeper. My last erpou is the vouching Bishop *Andrews* for a vindicator of the Archbishops Regularity. The Observer yeelds [he did the *Archbishop* great service in this businesse, but not for any opinion which he had, that no irregularity was incurred by that misadventure.] Really Bishop *Andrews* is beholding to the Observer for this note, the whole scope of that Commission was to inquire into the matter of fact, and to resolve whither the *Archbishop* (notwithstanding that mischance) was *Regular* or not *Regular*. This Bishop with Sir *Henry Martin*, positively maintain'd that he was *Regular* still; now if acting as a Commissioner from the *King*, he would positively maintain one thing, and in his own judgement adhere to the contrary, as the Observer positively saith he did, I say the more too blame he, and the much more too blame the Observer if he doth in this particular belye him, as 'tis an hundred to one he doth. But if the Bishop pronounced the *Archbishop* *Regular*, though he thought otherwaies, what was then the plot? the Observer tells us it was to keep out Dr. *Williams* then Bishop of *Lincoln*, and Lord Keeper, &c. who would have stept into that See. So then it seems the question was not whither *Regular* or *Irregular*, but who, *Abbot* or *Williams*, would make the best Archbishop. This is fine stuffe, pittty it is, there is no more of the remnant.

Page. 58.

Fol. 73. They who lately were confin'd as Prisoners, are now not only free, but Petty Lords, and Masters, yea and Petty Kings.] Observer. I cannot chose but marvel what endued our Author unto this expression of making the Gentlemen assembled in the house of Commons, not only petty Lords, but Petty Kings; I have heard that King James once said in a time of Parliament (but whither in way of jeer, or otherwaies, I am not able to say) that there were now five hundred Kings, beside himself.

Answer. King James having said the like before, it is no great marvel that a poor Subject should use the same expression, considering what the Observators Court-Historian (as he, and Dr. Heilen usually styles him) saith, *Non ibi constant exempla, unde* (so it is not *ibi*, by his favour) *caperunt*.] Examples are not restrained to their first Originals. Nor did that expression import what these Gentlemen were *de jure*, but what in reputation, and what *de facto*, and of this experience hath taught us, they lately were not Petty Lords, but Lords Paramount; not Petty Kings, but Superiours to Kings themselves.

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Page. 59.

Fol. 75. Their Estates modestly estimated were able to buy the house of Peers, the King excepted, though an hundred and eighteen thrice over] Observator. Assuredly the Basnage were brought very low when the Gentlemen assembled in the house of Commons could buy them thrice over, there being not above 500 of the one, and thrice one hundred and 18, that is to say, three hundred and fifty of the other, by which account every Gentleman must be able to buy his two Lords and an half one with another. But why doth our Author leave out the Bishops, &c. It was ill done of him to exclude them, and not well done of him that should have kept them in, to exclude them afterward, &c.

Answer. All that I can make out of this account is, that it will take two such Observators and an half to make up one good Arithmetician. The Computation is not so over-difficult but any one of slender skill may sum up, and proportion it. The number of Peers being 118 allow to every Peer 3000 l. per annum, the total is 354000 l. multiply this by 3, there ariseth 1062000 l. The Commoners the Observator grants to be five hundred; allow to every Commoner 2124 l. per annum, the product will be 1062000 l. so then every Peer considered at 3000 l. and every Commoner at 2124 l. per annum, no such stupendious businelle, if it be withal taken for granted, that for estates they were the gallantest assembly that ever those walls immured; then I say the Commons were able to buy the house of Peers thrice over. Now for omitting the Bishops, I demand what were they? members of the house of Peers, or are they not? if the first, then these words are, turn-key enough to let them in; if the Observator say not, their exclusion is his own manufacture. Next to come to the man, who did so ill when he should have kept them in, to exclude them: This man is King Charles, the very same I assure you, *sed dicere mussat*, would he speak out, and exclude them; true it is he did [out of a firm perswasion of their contentednesse to suffer a present diminution in their Rights and Honour for his sake] so are his very words. And I dare answer for almost all (for all I dare not: *non omnes Episcopi Episcopi sunt*) they were for his sake well contented; and if so, the greater indignity it is for this *Cantis Palatinus* this Court-curre, a fellow so unconcerned therein, now his Royal back is turned, to be snarling at his heels for it. But of such men this Nation hath enow, and to spare. I well remember being once at Table, our number being about a dozen, at that time when somebody was in a flourishing condition in Scotland, several discourses passing in reference to his affairs, amongst other things a report

port was mentio ned, that in order to his establiſhment he promiſed the *Covenanters* a ſettlement of the *Preſbyterian* government, whereto one Reply'd [If he comply with the *Preſbyterians*, it is not this bit of bread to me whither he ſinke or ſwim] ſo ſtrong an influence had *Episcopacy* upon his Spirit, and poſſibly not *Episcopacy* neither; for it is ſhrewdly to be ſuſpected that ſome ſtand not ſo much upon that *Hierarchy*, in reference to the Churches ſplendor, as to their private Ambition. *Fac me Episcopum Romæ, & ero protenus Chriſtianus*, Make me Biſhop of *Rome*, & then I will turn Chriſtian, ſaid a ſlouting Pagan to *Damaſus*. And if *Fac me Episcopum, make me a Biſhop*, be not the *terminus ad quem*, the main ſcope of ſome Prelatical Regaliſts, they are honeſter men then I take them to be.

Page. 64.

Fol. 90. He ſtitched a paper in the lining of his hat wherein he declared &c.] *Observer*. I think he is ſomewhat out in ſhort, there being nothing found in his hat or elſewhere about him; a few looſe papers ſuch as might become thoſe men who make God the Author of ſin.

Anſwer. My informer is Captain *Harvey* (one of thoſe to whole cuſtody by order of the Lord *Carlton*, *Felton* was firſt committed) who in a letter that very 23 of *Auguſt*, wherein beſide other things formerly obſerved, he hath alſo this paſſage, that *Felton* told him he was to be prai'd for the next day (being *Sunday*) at *London* in a Church (meaning *St. Brides*) at *Fleetſtreet-Conduit*, and in the end concludes his letter (having formerly related, his Motive to the fact, was, the *Remonſtrance* of the Houſe of Parliament) thus; He ſewed a writing into his hat, within the lining, to ſhew the cauſe why he put this cruel act in execution. The writing was thus even for a ſyllable.

I would have no man commend me for doing it, but rather diſcommend themſelves; for if God had not taken away their hearts for their ſins, he had not gone ſo long unpuniſhed.

John Felton.

The man is cowardly baſe in mine opinion, and deſerves neither the name of a Gentleman or Souldier, that is unwilling to ſacrifice his life, for the honour of God, his King, and Country.

John Felton.

Page. 68.

Fol. 94. The body was from thence convey'd to *Portſmouth*,
and

there hung in chains, but by some stole and convey'd away, Gibbet and all.] *Observer.* Our Author is deceived in this; for I both saw the Gibbet standing, and some part of the body hanging on it about three years after.

Answer. That it was confidently so reported (though erroneously, as I am since informed by the Observators betters) I have good Authority to prove, and that will be sufficient for me; nor is it any great wonder, when we consider how ready and disposed Fame is to unwarantable superflation.

Page. 70.

Observer. The calling in of Mr. Mountagues book, and the advancing of Dr. Barnaby Potter (a through-paced Calvinian) unto the Bishoprick of Carlile, could not get him any love in the hearts of his People.

Answer. This must necessarily signifie something of abominable quality in either the Person, or Doctrine of Dr. Potter, or both; to be so efficacious to obstruct and impede the affection of his people. As for the man, know it is his eminent Relation to his Majesty, might rather create a wonder why he was advanced so late, then why so soon; and to imagine any thing tending to scandal in his life, considering his place of so neer admission to the King person, will at the first sight, look so like a Calumny, as deserves no answer. So then the horrid thing in him is, and must be his Opinion, and being a through-paced Calvinian; and that indeed is blemish enough now a daies; he that is so, be he the greatest Scholler in the Land, he doeth; Be he the most pious, he is an hypocrite; be he the most consciencious in all his Actions, a very knave; with all these titles of honour, I have known the gallantest men in this Nation dubb'd; and what is this but to make a faction of an opinion, and to contend for victory with the losse of Charity? The institution of *Cyrus* makes ἀλλοτρίων speaking truth, one of the three accomplishments of a compleat man; Christianity goes further; and therefore the Apostles rule is, we must search for truth and speak it, but in love, that is, keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of Peace. This unity of love, must be preserved even where there is not an unity of faith in things not fundamental, which I take not one of those controversies to be; and if they be not so, it is a most sad thing for the Church of God to be torn and rent in the entire cloth with diversities of such opinions, whose truths will neither carry us to Heaven, nor errors to hell; what the uncharitable animosities on both sides may produce I tremble to think. It was St. Augustines opinion, and I wish it entertain'd by our whole

Ephes. 4. 15.
ἀλλοτρίων ἐν
ἀγάπῃ.

Augustine
Epist. 162.

whole Church in such Polemick questions as these, *Laudandi sunt qui pro bono veritatis tolerant, quod bono veritatis oderunt.* [they are to be commended who for Christian verities sake patiently endure what they would else dislike for the avail of Truth.] To proceed.

Page. 70.

Fol. 96. For Arminianism informations were very pregnant, that notwithstanding the Resolution of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Reverend Bishops and Divines assembled Anno. 1595. &c. [Observator. Why man, the Articles of Lambeth were never looked upon as the Doctrine of the Church of England, nor intended to be so looked upon by them that made them.

Answer. Why Moon, who said they were? not I; it was Mr. Pym, and the Committee for Religion said so. I do but recite what that Committee declared as the product of their inquiries: and with this answer, legible enough to any who can read, I might easily avoyd no lesse then 25 pages of the Observer. So that I might justly have this *Man in the Moon*, like *Mithridates* his souldiers, fighting by *Moon-shine* with his own shadow; Had he not scattered my particulars in my way which detain me.

First, Stating the occasion of making the *Lambeth Articles*, he saith, page. 74. That the Compilers of the book of *Articles*, and the book of *Homiles*, the publique Monuments of our Church in point of Doctrine differ'd from *Calvines* sence in the point of Predestination and its subordinates.] Answer. This is very probable; for it is very rare for two even of the same party to agree exactly in all parcels of these controversies. But if they did in some things vary in opinion, I am still to demand, *Quorsum hoc*, what then?

Secondly, Page. 74. He saith of *Petrus Baro*, at the end of his three first years, he relinquished the Professorship, and retired not long after into *France*.] Answer. Three errors in not full so many lines. First, *Petrus Baro* relinquisht not his Professorship at the end of his first three years. He was Professor Anno. 1574. his Lectures upon *Jonas* tells us so. And the Observer will have him Professor about the time of the *Lambeth Articles*, which were in 1595. So then he relinquisht his place not at the end of his first three years. Secondly, his first three years are manifestly mistaken for two. For by the Statutes of the Lady *Margaret*, Foundresse of that Professorship, every Professor is eligible at the expiration of two, not of three years. The precise words are, *Et volumus insuper quod de cetero quolibet Biennio, ultimo die cessationis cujuslibet termini ante magnam vacationem universitatis predictae, una habilis, apta*
C & idonea

Et idonea persona in lectorem lecture prædictæ, pro uno Biennio integro, viz. a festo natiuitatis B. Mariæ Virginis tunc proximè sequente duntaxat duraturo eligatur: Fol. 105. in nigro codice. This I thought fit to insert for the information of very many of a contray belief. Thirdly, *Peter Baron* never went or retired into *France* after the Resignation of his Professorship, but went up to *London*, to *Crutched Friers*; there he lived, there he dyed, and was buried in *St. Olaves Church*, at whose Interment the Bishop of *London* Ordered all the most eminent Divines, Ministers in that City, to be present. Of this I hope I am credibly informed from his own Son still alive.

Thirdly, the Observator laboureth to discredit the Articles of *Lambeth*; by telling us a story, perhaps a tale, of the Queen, the Lord *Burly*, and Archbishop *Whitgift* in reference to those Articles. To which I answer, first, This story was never heard of till the year ... and the reputed father thereof, is one *Aurelius* (not *Aurelius Augustinus*, nor *Petrus Aurelius* to be sure) a *Kentish*-man, who was unborn when those Articles were framed. Secondly, admit his relation true; that Assembly was neither the first, nor the Greatest that have incurred a *Præmunire*.

Fol. 96. *By the prevalency of the Bishops of London and Winchester, the Orthodox party were depressed, and the truth they served was scarce able to protect them to impunity.* Observator. A very heavy charge, which hath no truth in it; for I am very confident that neither of these Bishops, did ever draw any man within the danger of punishment in relation only to their Tenets in the present Controversies, if they managed them with that prudence and moderation which became men studiously addicted to the Gospel of Peace.

Answer. I fear then the fault will be in their Prudence; for that some were snibb'd for matters of like nature, & restrained from speaking their consciences, the same journals relate, Sir *Daniel Norton* and Sir *Robert Phillips* informing the House, the one of Dr. *Moor*, the other of Dr. *Marshall*, who both testify'd they were chid by that B. of *Winchester* for preaching against Popery, and commanded to do so no more.

Page: 80.

Ibid. *By the uncontronled Preaching of several points tending and warping towards Popery by Mountague, Goodman, Cozens and others.* Observator. How again our Author is I think mistaken; for neither *Mountague* nor *Cozens* were questioned for preaching any thing warping towards Popery, &c.

Answer. All the error the Observator can here pick out, is in the word *Preaching*, which I confess should have been *Publishing*,

lishing, though both are sometime of the same, never of so much differing import; And though I shall agree with the Observer, that in Dr. Cozens his *Horary* there is no direct Popery; yet might it raise jealousies of his tendency that way, considering the time wherein he published it. But seeing that Doctor hath appeared of late a stout advocate for the Reformed Church, as I was first informed by my Reverend friend Mr. Lionel Gatsford, and am now further assured by others, I with all men would indulge him a favourable construction of that his right-hand Error. Charity to himself as Christian, and to the unity of this distracted Church, requires no less.

Page. 85.

Observer. That *Adoration towards the Altar or Eastern part of the Church, was generally used by the best and most religious Christians in the Primitive Times, Our Author, (if he be the man he is said to be) being well versed in the Monuments of most pure Antiquity cannot chuse but know.*

Answer. Because the Observer appeals here to my knowledge, though I boast not of any great knowledge of or acquaintance with the *Monuments of most pure Antiquity*, yet will I render both my science and conscience, and these apart from what I deliver as the Report of this *Committee*, who are of age to answer for themselves. True it is that bodily Adoration, and worshipping towards the East, was an ancient custome of the Primitive Church; evidence thereof there is enough in Ecclesiastical writers. As it was ancient, so can I not say it was illaudable in them, and might be tolerable in us, as I conceive, were all men satisfied in the *decorum* of it, or a liberty left to those who are still dubious of the lawfulness thereof to forbear it. But for dopping or cringing to, or towards the Altar or holy Table, as oft as they approached to, or retreated from it, (which is I take the *bowing* meant by the Committee, and was oft practised by some indiscreet pretenders to conformity with the Primitive Church) I profess seriously I find not the least trace thereof in any genuine Author of the first 500 yeares; and suppose I did, yet would not that be exemplary enough to me to imitate their practise. The Primitive Fathers never intended their usages or expressions should be leading charts, or Directories to all posterity; they knew well enough that ceremonies, phrases & modes of speech, must comply with, & humour the temper of their respective times, places, and other like circumstances. Their Priests, Altars, Sacrifices were at first words of an innocent import, and pious intendment; but became afterwards, in

Epist. 200.
Astellio.

process of time, the main turn-keys to the superstitious Sacrifice of the Masse, and the supporters of Transubstantiation; and though Great scholars who know most properly how to apply them, may sometime take the same liberty the Fathers used, yet seeing the Idolatry of worse times hath imposed upon those words a sense differing from their primitive reception, reason good in common speech they should be forborn. *Ne propter ambiguitatem vocabuli quam non discernit quotidiana locutio, illud fieri videatur, quod est inimicum nomini Christiano.* Least by reason of the ambiguity of a word not so easily discerned in ordinary discourse, something may seem to be intended not consonant to Christian faith] as *Augustine* excellently in another, though not unlike, case: So that the Primitive practice is in my opinion no general rule to goe by. I proceed to the next ceremony faulted by the Committee, the standing up at *Gloria Patri*. Concerning this the Observer saith first [It was never obtruded I am sure] *Answer*, what never? Let him not be too confident, for really I fear there will prove a flaw in his assurance, who so ever was of his Council. For in Bishop *Wren's* Articles framed for the Diocese of *Normich*, sure I am, cap. 4th. there are these words [Do they (i.e. the People) at the end of every *Psalm* stand up and say, Glory be to the Father, &c.] Now I think things inquired after in Diocesan visitations may be said to be urged and obtruded. But if it was not obtruded by the Bishops, the more negligent, the more too blame they; for the Observer tells us Secondly, [The *Rubrique* of the Church requiring us to stand up at the *Creed*, obligeth us by the same reason to stand up at the *Gospels* and *Gloria Patri*, the *Gospels* being the foundation of the *Creed*, as *Gloria Patri* is the Epitome and abstract of it] Now say I, if the *Rubrique* obliged us to use this ceremony, it did also oblige the Bishops to enforce conformity to it: and the Observators excuse is their accusation. But this Theologaster saying that *Gloria Patri* is an Epitome of the *Creed*, tells us newes indeed. For of what *Creed* I demand? of that (the Apostles) at which the *Rubrique* enjoyned us to stand up? surely no such thing. It is in truth as Mr. *Hooker* quoteth out of *St. Basil*, ἀποδοῦναι τῷ ὁσὺν ὑποτίματον, the evidence of a right sense in the doctrine of the *Trinity*; and not in all concerns of that Doctrine neither, but only in the particular of *Coequality* of the three Persons. Now there are in the *Creed* other points besides relating to the *Trinity*, and some Articles not at all belonging to that Doctrine. So that this Doxology must be stretched beyond all reason to comprehend them.

Thirdly, he saith that [Many a thing may be retained in a Reformed

Reformed Church, without special Rubriques to direct them, *ex vi Catholica consuetudinis*, especially where there is no rule to the Contrary.] *Bene, Eene sed quo istud tam bene?* much truth, but to little purpose. For will the *Observator* say; we have no Rule to the contrary? If he doth, he must be transmitted to the Act for uniformity prefixt to our *Leiturgy*, where there is a *væ*, a woe to him who [shall wilfully use any other Rite or Ceremony, &c. then is set forth in the book of *Common-Prayer*] expressly binding all men to a strict conformity to the very letter of it.

Fourthly, He saith [there is no more Authority for standing up at the Gospel, then at *Gloria Patri*] *Answer*. Reason there is more I am certain, and I believe more Authority. As for Reason, Standing is the most proper posture of attention; and if any part of Scripture requireth attention, the Gospel doth it in a most eminent degree, the reading whereof is *ἡ ἀνοίξις τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, the setting of Heaven gates wide open, not with the Psalmist for the King of Glory to come in, but for the King of Glory to come forth. Now as standing is not improper, so is it not a posture peculiar to the action of Doxology, and glorifying of God, as is evident by our Church, which sometimes (as in our Communion service) requireth it from our knees. Next I come to Authority, which I say did positively injoyne me and all men of my mind to stand up at the Gospel, not so at *Gloria Patri*. For by the Canons, it is required of every man [when in the time of Divine Service the Lord [I think it should be, word or name, as in the Queens Injunctions] Jesus shall be mentioned] due & lowly reverence shall be done, as hath been accustomed; now how it hath been accustomed, the Queens Injunctions tell us expressly, it was [by lownesse of curtesie, and uncovering of the head] By uncovering my head this reverence I cannot perform; for *Pileum* being *insigne libertatis receptæ*, the cognizance of liberty, I think it becometh me not to have it on when my Lord and Master speaks to me. So that my Reverence I must do by Genuflection and bowing of the knee, which cannot be done but in a Stationary posture. And note further, that this Reverence is not only required by our Church, when the Gospel, but also when the second lesson, yea when the *Epistle* (or *Apostle* as the antients call'd it) was read.

Christ. in
Isai. Rom. 2.

Page. 98.

Fol. 110. There was an old skulking statute long since out of use; though not out of force, &c.] *Observator*. This statute was made in the first year of Edward the second. But whereas our Author tells us that the persons mention'd in that statute were not required to be made Knights, as was vulgarly supposed, but *ad arma gerenda*,

da, to bear armes, and thereupon tells us a story of a Sword and Surcoate, I shall rather believe the plain words of the Statute, then his interpretation.]

Answer. I find by Sr. Edward Coke, *Inst. part second*, that by the *Common-Law* all persons who hold a *Knights Fee* (which was of uncertain value, sometimes 15, sometimes 20, sometimes (as in this present case) 40 l. per annum) might be compell'd to be made *Knights*. That the *Kings of England* had this power before the *Stat. 1. Ed. 2.* it is evident by *Matthew Paris*, pag. 897. who relateth that *H. 1.* came into the *Exchequer*, & there fined all the *Sheriffs of England* five marks a man, for not distraining *Quemlibet habentem, &c.* [Every one having 15. pounds per annum, to be made *Knights* as he commanded by his writs directed to those *Sheriffs*.] And the like precept was sent out by *Edward 1.* as is to be seen by *Matthew Westminster*, *Flor. Hist.* p. 223. As to my story of the *Belt and Surcoate*, the Author thereof (an eminent Antiquary) being long since dead, and not in being to make his defence, I shall offer something out of my reading, tending that way in confirmation of that note. First, for the time, that it was regularly to be at the *Coronation*, is inferrible from the instructions sent down this year, with the *Kings Commission*, whereby [All such *Baronets* as were not *Knights* at his *Coronation*, and all *Knights* who have received that honour since that time] are declared liable to make fine. As for the *Belt and Surcoate*, *Matthew Westminster* tells us, *K. Ed. 1.* sent forth a Proclamation, that all such persons, *Qui haberent unde militarent adessent apud Westmonaster. &c.* Who had possessions valued at a *Knights fee* should appear at *Westminster, &c.* What to do? he tells you presently, *admissuri singuli ornatum militatem ex regia garderoba, to receive military accoutrements out of the Kings Wardrobe.* But I said, these men summon'd were not to be made *Knights*, as was vulgarly supposed, which words having reference to the present case, are no other in substance then what *Sr. Edward Coke* said before me, who in the place fore-cited speaks clearly thus. [Now, *tempora mutantur*, the times are changed and many a yeoman purchaser lands in *Knights service*, and yet (*non debet*) ought not, for want of *Gentry*, to be a *Knight*] and a little after, the fine to the *Mark* which is chiefly aimed at.

Page. 103.

Fol. 124. For many had no fancy to the work, meerly because he was the promoter of it] *Observer*. It was plainly contrary, his case in promoting it being one great reason why so many had a fancy to it: most of the *Clergy* contributing largely unto it; the like did most of the *Nobility and Gentry*.

Answer.

Answer. The Observer saith *most* of the Clergy, and *most* of the Nobility and Gentry contributed largely to the repairing of *St. Pauls*. *Many*, and *most*, may sure be consistent; there may be many opposite to the major vote.

Page. 106.

Fol. 126. *But the entertainment most of all August and Royal, was that of the Earl of Newcastle at Welbeck, which was estimated to cost the Earl not lesse then 6000 l.]* Observer. *I have shewed our Author some mistakes in his Temporalities, and now I shall shew him one or two in his localities, besides his misplacing of the battail of Tislique spoken of before. The entertainment so much talked of, which cost the Earl 6000 l. was not made 1633. in the time of the King's going into Scotland, but July the last in the next year; nor was it made at Welbeck, but at Belsover Castle. The like mistake in matter of locality, occurreth Fol. 129. &c.*

Answer. The Observer here mentioneth a battail of *Tislique*, spoken of before; but where I know not; only conjecture that he had a good will to take me to taske for misplacing a battail, I suppose at *Rostoch*; but upon better consideration he found the error was his own, not mine; and therefore cut out the leaf containing the 101 & 102 pages wherein his mistake lay, leaving that Paragraph tyed head and heeles together.

Now I come to my two errors in Locality. The first is my misplacing of the Earl of *Newcastles* entertainment of the King. Which he will have at *Belsover Castle* in *Darby-shire*, not at *Welbeck*: and not 1633. but the next year after; and why so? because [that was the entertainment which cost the Earl 6000 l.] I answer, mentioning the entertainment given the King by the Earl, I delivered these particulars. First, that it was in his progresse into *Scotland*. Secondly, that it was the *most August* of all. Thirdly, that it was at *Welbeck*. Lastly, that it was estimated (not positively that it did so) to cost the Earl 6000 l. The three first are granted for truth by the very Observer himself; and for the last, as I said barely, it was so estimated, so I must tell him it was so estimated to my self at *York* at that very time of the Kings Progresse, and a full year before the next entertainment was given or perhaps thought of.

The next mistake in Locality, is, Fol. 129. where I relate that both their Majesties, with their train of Court-Grandees and Gentlemen Revellers, were solemnly invited to a most sumptuous banquet at *Guild-Hall*.] Whereas the entertainment which at that time the City gave the King was at *Al-derman*

derman *Freman's* house. Herein I confesse my errour; *Parce precor falso.*

Page. 110.

Fol. 127. *A very Learned man he was, his Erudition of the old stamp stily disciplin'd in the doctrine of St. Augustine, which they who understand it not call Calvinisme.]* Observer. *Whereas Our Author makes the Doctrine of St. Augustine and Calvinisme to be all One, I think he is very much out in that. St. Augustine was a great maintainer of Episcopacy, which the Calvinians have rejected, &c.*

Answer. Good Reader, judge thou if I make the Doctrine of *St. Augustine* and *Calvinisme* to be in all concernments all one; in opposition to the *Massilian* and *Arminian* Tenets they are, I both said then, and dare say again, the very same or very neer. In some other points know I do they differ. The Observer instanceth in that of *Episcopacy*; how true that, I determine not; but in that of the *Sabbath* or *Lords day*, which is the next thing offers it self to our consideration, sure I am they do.

Page: 112.

Fol. 128. *This Declaration then caused so many impetuous clamours against it, as it was soon call'd in.]* Observer. *In this I am sure our Author is extremely Out; that Book being never call'd in, though the execution was soon discontinued.*

Answer. Out I may be, but sure not extremely out, the discontinuance of the Execution of it being a tacite suppressing and calling of it in.

Page. 114.

Fol. 129. *The Divinity of the Lords day being new Divinity at Court.]* Observer. *And so it was by his favour in the Countrey too, not known in England till the year 1595. So new it is that it cannot prescribe to 60 years; for if it could, we should have found some mention of it in our Articles, or Our Book of Homilies, in which we find nothing at all touching the keeping of that day.*

Answer. By this and some other passages in the Observer, we may suspect the man to be *Petrifi'd* (there's an hard word, as hard as a stone) and very conversant with *Peter Hie-len* a Dr. of *Cosmography*, a work very proper for him; for none fitter to describe the world then he, who all his life hath loved the world, none like him; but of that Dr. more anon. Next to the Observer, if that Dr. and he be two; First, he saith that [the Divinity of the Lords day was not known in *England* till the year 1595.] If so, I demand of the Observer, what

what did Archbishop *Whitgift* mean in his defence of the Answer to the Admonition, p. 553. where speaking in the present tense, he saith the Sabbath is superstitiously used by some? did he mean the Jewish Sabbath? that cannot be; for he subjoynes, *so is the Church, the Creed, the Lords Prayer*; importing it to be a lawfull thing, abused by superstitious people; and soon after he speaks of a Sabbath then commanded by the 4th Precept, which could not be the Jewish; and if not that, must of necessity be the Lords day. Now this Archbishop published his Defence, Anno. 1574. Next for the book of Homilies, surely he spake much without books, for certainly there was not any thing more especially taught in those Homilies, then the divinity of the Lords day: they saying [God in that Precept (speaking of the fourth) commandeth the observation of the Sabbath, which is our Sunday]. What can positively be rendred clearer? Here's the Sabbath interpreted by the Lords day, and that commandeth to be observed in the 4th Precept by God himself. So that by the Observators leave, the Divinity of the Lords day may be found in our book of Homilies.

Page. 115.

Fol. Ibid. Which seemed the greater prodigy, that men who so eagerly cryed up their own Order and Revenues for Divine, should so much deny the Lords day from being such when they had no other Existence then in Relation to this.] *Observer*. Here's a Prodigy indeed, and a Paradox too; that neither the Order nor Revenues of the Evangelical Priesthood, have any existence but in Relation to the Divinity of the Lords day. If our Author be not out in this, I am much mistaken.

Answer. Where hath this *Observer* been brought up, that this Tenet of mine, of mine said I? yea of all learned men should be so wondred at to be called a Prodigy? Good Reader when thou seest him next, tell him from me, there is scarce a man of note who treateth of the fourth Commandment, that owneeth not this *Prodigious* opinion. I shall content my self with only one at present, but one who I hope will be *instar omnium* with the *Observer*, as being free from Puritanism. The learned Bishop of *Winchester*, who expounding the fourth Commandment, saith first, [because men should not be left at liberty when to perform Religious duties, God hath appointed a Day whereon to do them, and that more solemnly in a publique meeting or assembly] this Day, he calleth the *Lords Day*. Secondly [Now whereas the solemn duties of this Day, cannot be performed in a publique manner, without a Place set a part, and Persons enabled to perform

Catechist.
Doct. p. 259.

form such sacred actions. Therefore both *Places & Persons* sanctify'd to those purposes, & *Maintenance* also for those *Persons*, are included in this Precept] so here are both the sacred Orders and Revenues constituted in relation to the Lords Day, and the duties thereof; and emergent both from the fourth Commandment, and so I hope the Prodigy is at an end.

Page 116. Fol. Ibid. *Int of this elsewhere.*] *Observer.* And indeed of this there hath enough been said elsewhere to satisfy all learned and ingenious men both in the meaning of the law and in point of practice.

Answer. Never any thing more truly spoken. And all I shall superadde is this, that whereas I said, *But of this elsewhere*, my meaning was, that of the Doctrine of the Sabbath or Divinity of the Lords day I had treated elsewhere, in a book extant of that Argument, *Anno. 1640.* never as yet answered by any. To that Treatise I refer all men who shall desire my Judgment in that Subject. Only from thence I shall (having so fit an opportunity) be bold to remind Doctor Heilen of an old mistake (to say no worse) committed by him, in vindication whereof he never attempted any thing as yet; The mistake this. The main question concerning that Day was (and I am sorry to find it is) whether or not it be of *Divine institution*. That Doctor with his leaders and followers, said nay; and (because it would signifie the same thing, should it be extinced to be *Apostolical*) the man sweats, toyles, and somewhat worse, to evade it. For Part 2.c.6.8.7. of his History of the Sabbath, he citeth out of *Pareus* his *Com.* in *Gen. 2.* treating of the change of the Sabbath into the Lords Day, these words; *Quomodo autem facta sit hac mutatio in sacris literis non apparet.* And to make it apparent, he was industrious in it, because *Quomodo* alone he thought *non vult fac*, would not do the deed without his Paraphrase; he descants on it thus. *How?* that is by, *what Authority this change was made, appeareth not in sacred Scripture*, whereas in very truth, *Pareus* his word, in two several Editions, one 4^o the other folio, is *Quando* (not *Quomodo*) & for the *Authority*, he in that very place ascribes it *Apostolica Ecclesie*, to the *Apostolique Church*; and in Comment upon *1 Cor. 16. v. 2.* and upon the *Revelation*, fixeth it positively upon *Apostolical Authority*. Now what it is for a Doctor of *Divinity*, for so great a champion of *Antiquity* against *Novelty*, not in an idle circumstance, but in the grand concernment of a controversie, to forge and falsifye a Record so boldly, I dare not say so impudently, I submit to the judgment of all the world. This I write partly to provoke an answer from that Doctor, and partly

partly, to vindicate him from the groundlesse supposition, which renders him the Author of these *Observations*; who, as he hath professedly disavowed it, so is it scarce credible that he of all men, durst be so bold with me, as this *Observator* is, knowing how readily I might have returned—*Quis in-
lerit Gracchos*—

Page. 117.

Fol. Ibid. *And was after stiled Duke of York*] *Observator*. Our Author here accomodates his stile to the present times, when the weekly Pamphlets gave the Prince no other Title then the Titulary Duke of York. It is true indeed the second son of England is not born to the Dukedom of York, but receives that Title by creation, &c.

Answer. How is it possible to escape the *Observators* lash? Had I said he was then stiled *Duke of York*, I had been out in my Temporalities, he being not created *Duke of York* till afterward: to avoy'd which *Scylla*, I inserted *after*, and fell upon the *Charybdis* of complying with weekly Pamphlets; what shall an honest Historian do in such a case?

Page. 122.

Fol. 131. *The King presently issued out writs to all the Counties within the Realm.*] *Observator*. Our Author is deceived in this, as in many things else; For in the first year of the Payments of Shipmoney the writs were not issued to all the Counties of England, but only to the maritime Counties, &c.

Answer. This mistake I acknowledge also. But did it deserve so much favour as for the *Observator* to give me two for one? for first he saith, *in the first year of Shipmoney the writs were issued to the Maritime Counties*] No such matter, it was to the maritime, to the Port-townes only. Secondly, he saith that in the next year, and not before, the like writs were issued out to the Counties in England, which is an undoubted truth; but whereas he gives us some more certain note of that year to be 1636. he is much out; for those general writs were issued in the year 1635, as a consequent of the opinion of the Judges in that November; and this is an undoubted truth also.

Page 125.

Fol. 132. *But in regard he came without Credential letters from the Queen of Sweaden, he denied him audience, whereupon he returned in some disgust*] *Observator*. In this short passage there are more mistakes then lines. For first, it is not likely that young Oxonstern came without Credential letters. Secondly, I am sure he had publique audience, my curiosity carrying me to the Court

that day, not so much to see the formalities of such receptions, as to behold the Son of so wise a Father, &c.

Answer. Never was any mans hand so out as mine in this Narration; what? more mistakes then lines? that's sad, if not somewhat hyperbolical, as is evident because there are many lines, and but two mistakes, taking the Observators information for currant. But be there more mistakes then lines, I have a Father for them all. The History of the Wars of Christendome, The Author whereof, though he be an Italian, and therefore not so competent a Judge of our affaires; yet the Earle of Monmouth, who translated him, was of our Nation, and a person of so much honour and knowledge in this businesse, as he would have given us some Marginal caveat, had it been so wide of truth as the Observer would make it.

Page 30.

Fol. 127. The King committing the staff of that office to Dr. Juxon Lord Bishop of London; who, though he was none of the greatest Scholars, yet was withal none of the worst Bishops. [Observer. I would fain learn of our Author in what particular parts of either divine or humane learning he reckons this Bishop defective.]

Answer. That this Bishop was none of the greatest Scholars, I saw then no reason but that I might safely say, without disparagement to his Function, Scholarship, or my Prudence; a Bishop may be *defectus*, able to instruct, and Schollar sufficient for his Place, though he be none of the greatest magnitude. Nor is it requisite that a Bishop be much more learned then a Presbyter: That he be more prudent, requisite it is, being a quality more pertinent to Government; and in this particular, I hope I have made him an amends in the latter part of his Character. I shall conclude with Hierome, *Nullus aut rarus est qui omnia habeat, quæ habere debet Episcopus.* No Bishop, or rarely any hath all vertues belonging to a Bishop; and he who wanteth two or three, and hath all the rest, is more commendable for what he hath, then to be blamed for what he wants: If this be not satisfaction enough, I hope that is, that I have ordered a *delectur* upon it, being loth to abide a misconstruction; and finding the Historians note verified, *Vicorum ut magna admiratio, ita censura difficilis est.*

Page 132.

Fol. 128. As the Archbishop, whilst he so vehemently persued order, did a little curtail Authority, &c. [Observer. The King gave Authority and Approbation to it (a year before this Metropolitick Visitation) in the case of St. Gregories in London, being

being heard before him sitting in the Privy Council. Anno 1633.

Answer. The Archbishops out-running Authority I intended not in placing the Communion-Table *Altar-wise*, at the East-end of the Chancel; but by enjoying a wooden traverse of rails to be set before it, by commanding all Communicants thither to resort for the Blessed Sacrament: These I commend as decent in themselves, but account as Innovations. I will give you now my reason, not quarrelling with Dr. *Coal*, whom the Bishop of *Lincoln* carbonado'd, nor yet with *Peter Heylin*; plainly and sincerely the 82 Canon enjoyneth, that the Communion-Table, when the holy Communion is to be administr'd [shall be placed in so good sort within the Church or Chancel, as thereby the Minister may be more conveniently heard of the Communicants, and the Communicants also in more number may communicate with the said Minister. Now the Communicants may both best hear, & in most number communicate, when the Table is in the body of the Church, or of the Chancel. Again, it is clear from the word *saving*, mention'd in this Canon, that the Table was to stand in one place when there was no Communion, and in another when there was one. And this is most clearly made out by the Queens Injunctions 1559. from whence this Canon in this particular is almost *verbatim* taken; for after order taken where it shall stand, in Communion-time, it is further said in those injunctions, [And after the communion done, from time to time the same holy Table to be placed where it stood before.] Infallibly implying, that though it stood *Altar-wise* before, yet at Communion-time it was to be removed, and consequently not to be rail'd in.

But behold how he defends this from Innovation, [the King gave Authority and Approbation for it a year before the Metropolitcal Visitation I speak of] Where's that? [in deciding the controversie about the Communion-Table in the case of *St. Gregory* 1633.] This Metropolitcal Visitation, say I, was 1635. His Majesties Declaration, sayes the *Observer*, was 1633. a year before; sure the man meanes *London measure*. But what? did the King declare any thing in that case, concerning the setting of rails before the *Holy Table*, or that it should stand there immoveable, so as the Communicants were to resort up to those rails to receive? Sure I am that Declaration speaks no such matter, not a syllable tending that way: *Oportet esse memorem*. When these words fell from me, it seems I forgot what I said before of the remissgovernment of Arch-Bishop *Abbot* [which made the future reduction of tender-conscienced men so long discontinued

tinued obedience, interpreted an innovation.] No such matter, I well remembred those words, and withal that I never meant they should relate to the setting Railes before the Holy Table, so as it might not be removed at the time of celebrating the Blessed Sacrament.

Page 139.

Fol. 138. *They were not blamelesse in their lives, some being vitious unto scandal.*] Observator. Vitious even to scandal! That goes high indeed, and it had well become the Author to have named the men. Or were there such, it had been fitter for our Author to have played the part of Sem and Japhet, in hiding the nakednesse of their Spiritual Father, then to act the part of Cham, in making Proclamation of it unto all the world, &c.

Ad Ruffin.

Answer. A true saying it is of St. Hierome: *Quando sine nomine contra vitia scribitur, qui irascitur, accusator sui est.* When vices are declam'd against, and no persons named, he who is angry, accuseth himself. So that here the Observator may seem to save part of my labour, and names himself for one. And with I doe, from my very soule, I were not able to add another; for the Observator himselfe cannot more cordially rejoyce in the conviction of me here for untruth, then I would my self, so much do I prefer the honour of the Clergy before mine own reputation.

But were there such, it had been fitter, sayes the Observator, for our Author to have played the part of Sem and Japhet, in hiding, then of Cham, in making Proclamation of it to all the world. Certainly no fitter for me then it was for Chrysostome, the Greek of whose golden mouth was in relation to the vices of his times, as broad as is my English in reference to those. No fitter for me then for Gildas, surnamed the wise, the most Ancient of our British Writers extant, to say, *Sacerdotes habet Britannia, sed insipientes; quam plurimos Ministros, sed impudentes; clericos, sed raptos subdolos, &c.* Great Britain hath Priests indeed, but silly ones; Ministers of Gods word very many, but impudent; a Clergy, but given up to greedy rapine, &c.

No one of us all acting Cham's part; that is, making sport with the failings of those we should reverence; but rather sadly bewailing the Churches condition, in being burthen'd with such un sanctify'd persons; and for my self, acting the part not of Cham, but of an Historian, Historie being not only τὸν ἀνὴρ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς, the Repository of the vertues of Heroick Spirits, but μὲν τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν, the testimony of the vices of Bad men, I thought I could doe no lesse then take some notice of this exorbitancy of some of the Clergy; and that

that (as this Observators Court-Historian saith) *non ut arguerem, sed ne arguerer*, not so much that I might accuse them, as fearing lest I should be accused my selfe for omitting them.

Page 141.

Fol. 141. He was bold to say, he hoped to live to see the day when a Minister should be as good a Man as any Jack-Gentleman in England. Observator. Our Author telling us this Man was an high Flyer, he gives us some conjecture at the Man he drives at. A Man of an undaunted spirit, and strong resolutions, but not so intemperate in his Words, or unwise in his Actions, as to speak so contemptuously of our English Gentry.

Answer. The Observator hath, I believe, a probable conjecture at this high-Flyer; but as to his vindication of him from such distemper in his words or actions, I fear his word will scarce be taken. The truth is, it seems my information was not then so good as since; therefore I have now corrected that expression according to that Authors own copy, adding upstart to Jack-Gentleman; which argues, I think, not much of the temper or wisdom the Observator cries up in him.

Page 142.

Fol. 147. Very little differing, as the King was unhappily perswaded by them, from the English. Observator. The Alterations being made, and shewed to the King, he approved well of them; in regard that coming neerer to the first Liturgy of King Edward the sixth in the Administration of the Lord Supper, it might be a meanes to gain the Papists to the Church, who liked far better of the first, then second Liturgy.

Answer. Though the King was shewed the Alterations of the Scottish Liturgy; yet might he so apprehend, or be perswaded that the differences were small; and yet might they be great for all that, and perhaps not discovered by him: They are not the multitude of words that create the greatness of a difference; it was but one word, yea, but one vowel of that one word, about which the Orthodox Church and heretical Synagogue of Arius contested. But behold the reason why the King (as the Observator saith) approved of the Scotch Liturgy. It came neer to the first Liturgy of King Edward the sixth in the Administration of the Lords Supper, and so might be a meanes to gain the Papists to the Church, who liked far better of the first, then second Liturgy. That the Papists liked King Edwards first Liturgy (and consequently the Scotch) better then the second is without all dispute,

dispute; the very words of distribution of the Elements in both, being so framed, as they may consist with *Transubstantiation*. And yet a slender means to gain them to our Church. The gaining Papists to our Church, was indeed the great pretended project of 40 yeares continuance; and yet in all that time not so much as one taken with that bait. How many true Protestants have been lost thereby, I grieve to think.

Page 144.

Observer. Our Author here doth very well describe the two Tumults at Edinburgh, upon the reading of the Book of Common Prayer; but he omits the great over-sights committed by the King and the Lords of that Council, in the conduct and carriage of that businesse.

Answer. Here the Observer (being between Hawk and Buzzard) flies at the whole Covy, taxing not onely the King (for that is nothing with him) but him and the Lords of the Scotch Council with oversights; great oversights: Sure things will be gallantly ordered, when our Observer comes to be of a Council of State.

Page 151.

Fol. 151. *Because it was the Bishops War.*] Observer. I am sorry to see this passage have our Authors pen, whom I should willingly have accounted a true Son of the Church, were it not for this, and some other passages, which savour more of the Covenantier.

Answer. A Covenantier? yes no doubt of that, a through-paced Covenantier; but why so? Because I call it the *Bishops War*, and so did they. True, they did; and besides them many an English Protestant: why might they not? Was it not a War undertaken at first in defence of their Hierarchy? Nay, one of no mean esteem makes one of that Order the main cause of that War, by introducing the Liturgy amongst them, *sc. spe quidem laudabili, eventu vero pessimo*; with a good intent, but exceeding ill successe: why so? *Hinc siquidem, &c.* For from hence proceeded Tragedies, Tumults, War, and Invasion. Now that War which an Arch-Bishop occasion'd, and which was entred into for maintaining that Hierarchy, may, I hope, without offence be called the *Bishops War*. But here I am cut off; the Observer telling us that [Religion was but the vizard to disguise that businesse which covetousnesse and sacriledge had the greatest hand in] which he confirms by this ensuing Narrative. [The King being engaged into a War with *Spain*, and deserted by those who engaged him in it, amongst other wayes of assistance, was minded of a purpose his Father had of Revoking all Grants of Abby Lands, &c. which being vested in

in the Crown, were by his Protectors in his Minority, conferred on many of the Nobility and Gentry, &c. Being resolved upon the same course, he intends a Parliament in that Kingdome, appoints the Earle of *Nidderdale* to preside therein, and armes him with instructions for passing of an Act of Revocation accordingly: who being on his way as far as *Barwick*, was there informed that all was in Tumult at *Edinburgh*; that a rich coach which he had sent before to *Dalkeith* was cut in pieces, the poore horses killed, the people seeming onely sorry that they could not doe the like to the Earle himselfe. Things being brought to this stand, and the Parliament put off with a *sine Die*, the King was put to a necessity of second Councils, &c.]

Answer. That many had other then Religious designs, there is little doubt, they hoping to obtain that honour or wealth in a troubled State, which they were confident they should never arrive at in a calm. Now, as concerning this Relation, the Observer being a person to whom I am so much obliged, I cannot but as part of requital of his own labours, adde something for illustration of his Story, and rectifying some mistakes thereof. Know then, Reader, that this Earle of *Nidderdale*, of whom the Observer speakes, was then no Earle, but the Lord *Maxwell*, no more but so; and the very Man, or I am deceived, mention'd in *Habernfeld* Discovery. For, a rank Papist he was, and Anno 1624. went to *Rome* to receive the Popes extraordinary Benediction; which the Council of *Scotland* hearing of, they set out a Bar, or Prescription against him for departing the Kingdome without leave: Soon after, King *James* dying, he came over into *England*, and by the Dukes favour, whose Kinswoman he had married, was, Anno 1625. joyned in Commission with the Earle of *Anandale* (*Murrey*) for summoning a Parliament (not for Revoking of Church, and other lands formerly invested in the Crown) but for contribution of monies and ships against the *Dunkirkers*; and was designed to preside there, with power to place and displace what Officers he pleased. In Order and Pomp futable to so great a Trust, the Lord buyes him a Coach most radiant and richly gilded; this he sends before him to *Dalkeith*. The Council of *Scotland* having early notice of this, conspire to adhere and stick close together, and to oppose his commission: And the surer to frustrate the Lords designe, they send to all the chief Towns, informing them what was comming, desiring they would send in the money with all expedition. The Townes conformed instantly, and all was done; yea the very undoing
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and destruction of his glorious Coach, before the Lord *Maxwell* came to *Barmick*, and further he durst not go, being informed his person so generally hated, might be in great danger there, but posted amain to the Court of *England*, where finding the King cool in the businesse (having had an account from the Council of *Scotland* of al their proceedings, & advertised by them how displeasing a *President* that Lord was like to prove, in respect of his Religion) & the Duke gone to the *Hague*, after him he goes, and returns with him into *England*. The Duke and this Lord being come to Court, possesse the King with strange insolences and affronts committed by the Council of *Scotland* against his Regal power. His Majesty in some indignation thereupon sends for them to come forthwith, and answer what he had to object against them: up they come to court, and being by his Majesty chidden for their miscarriages, they defying this Lord openly in his Majesties presence, spake withal bug words, not very loyal 'tis confest; whereat his Majesty told them then, and not before, he would make them restore all to the Crown, which they had taken from it in his Fathers Minority. This and somewhat more, my information from a credible hand, and of a date agreeable to the story, what succeeded hereupon the Observer tells you.

Page 163.

Fol. 161. *The King first named eight Bishops, then those eight Bishops chose eight Noble men, those Noble men chose so many Barons, and those the like number of Burgeesses, &c.* Observer. Not altogether so as our Author hath it, for the Bishops and Noble men together chose eight Commissioners for the Sheriffdomes and as many for the Corporations.

Answer. My informer being a Person of such eminency of that Nation, and so versed in the affairs of that Kingdome; is, I think, more credible in this particular then a forreigner.

Page 171.

Fol. 182. True it is he had too much and too long favoured the Romish Faction, but as upon what account he favoured it is uncertain, &c. Our Author here acquits the Archbishop from the Popish faith, but leaves him under a suspicion of favouring the Popish faction; which in a man who cannot tell upon what account he favoured it, may be thought uncharitable. But both King James and King Charles in several Declarations give this Reason for it, &c.

Answer. It is I think, no uncharitable act to censure any man for what is professedly true, no matter upon what account;

count; to condemn a man for what is but a bare surmise may be uncharitable. And that the *Archbishop* favoured the *Popish* faction, our *Observer* doth not only grant, but endeavors to shew upon what account it was; saying [Both King *James* and King *Charles* in several Declarations, and in their several Answers to Parliament Petitions give this reason for it] for it? for what? for the *Archbishops* favouring the *Popish* faction? did ever any such thing ever enter into their thoughts, as to declare what moved the *Archbishop* to favour the *Romish* faction? I will not dwell upon this reason which the *Observer* would persuade us he had for it, that is, therefore to obtain like favours for such *Protestants* as lived in the Dominions of *Popish* Princes; nor on what he might have had, of keeping the ballance even between them and the *Puritans*. But deliver what, having heard formerly, but upon dubious report, I am I think, certainly informed was the true cause thereof. For being told by one, that he had many an ill look from the Commons upon that very account, True, said he, I believe it, but something must be done to please the *Queen*.

Page 172.

Fol. Ibid. He tampered indeed to introduce some ceremonies bordering upon Superstition, disused by us and abused by them; from whence the *Romanists* collected such a disposition in him to their Tenets, as they began to cry him up for their proselyte.] *Observer*. In this Passage many things are to be considered. First, these Ceremonies are not here said to be superstitious, but only to border upon superstition: Secondly, they are said to be dis-used, which shews they were still in force. Thirdly, that these ceremonies had been abused by them of the Church of Rome, and therefore might lawfully be restored; for abusus non tollit usum.

Answer. The first is confessed. The second is really a very dumb shew; the word *disused* doth not at all imply that those ceremonies were in force, but only that the Reformers of our Church, observing how much they had been abused by the Church of Rome, thought fit not to retain but lay aside the use of them; Thirdly, things abused may be lawfully restored to their Primitive use, but then it must be by lawful Authority, and in a lawful manner. And the lawfulness of their restoration, doth not import an expediency, the Apostle putting such a difference between these two.

Page 176.

Fol. 184. This *Archbishops* Predecessor penultine and last but one.] *Observer*. He was not Dr. Whitgift, but Dr. Bancroft.

Answer. Confest, as I said before, a lapse of memory.

Ibid.

Fol. Ibid. *That is, as a witty Gentleman said well, a new Synod, made of an old Convocation.*] *Observer.* *This witty Gentleman here meant was Sr. Edward Deering.*

Answer. Here the Observer is wofully out; for the witty Gentleman here meant was not Sr. Edward Deering; no such words to be found in all his speeches, but it was the Lord Digby his speech Nov. 12. 1640. and consequently this learned descendant upon Sr. Edward is out of doores.

Page 179.

Fol. Ibid. *By a new Commission from the King.*] *No such matter verily; the new Commission which he speaks of, gave them no such power; The writ by which they were first called and made to be a Convocation, gave them power to sit, and by that writ they were to sit as a Convocation, til by another writ proceeding from the same Authority they were dissolved.*

Answer. I shall here deliver the true state of this businesse, and then submit to the judgement of standers by. Feb. the 20th. 1639. the Convocation writs went forth to the severall Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *Tork*, for the Election of Clerks to the Convocation; in which writs though there were these words *ad tractandum, consentiendum, & concludendum, &c.* Yet could not the Convocation Treat, consent, or conclude any thing without a special Commission enabling them thereto. This Commission therefore was issued out April the 15. two dayes after the Parliament sate and impowred the Houses of Convocation [to alter, amend and change the old Canons, and to make new during the Parliament.] So that the Parliament being dissolved May the 5. by consequence this Commission expired by the Observators own concession; but though the Commission was nulled, it was a question still whither the Convocation was so also: In the ensuing Parliament it was agreed that it was; and if it was not, yet was it beheld to have so little life in it, as the King thought fit to re-animate it with a new Commission, bearing date May 12, Authorizing it to make Canons, &c. And to continue during his Majesties pleasure. Notwithstanding this Commission, the Observer tells us [That the King for satisfaction of some scrupulous members of the lower house, propounded the Question to some eminent Lawyers, who resolved under their hands [That the Convocation being called by the Kings writ, was to continue until it were dissolved by the Kings writ, notwithstanding the dissolution of the Parliament.] All which

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is very true, but not all the truth; for the light-fingered Observer hath pocketed up the break-neck of the businesse, suppressing what those Lawyers sent along with their opinions, viz. that notwithstanding them, they would advise the Convocation in making of Canons to be very sparing, as I am enformed by a member of that Convocation, and one (no matter who) as knowing and credible a person as that assembly had any.

Page 182.

Fol. Ibid. *Bishops and Presbyters in Scripture-Phrase being of equivalent import, and denoting the selfsame persons without the least distinction.*] Observer. *When our Author plays the Historian in relating of such things as are built upon good intelligence, he doth it very well, few better; but when he comes to shew his opinion in matters of controversie, he doth it very ill, none worse. For first, I do not believe our Author can easily prove Bishops and Presbyters to be of equivalent import.*

Answer. Out upon this Observer who is so grossly out in both; for really there are many better Historians then my self, and some worse disputants; the Observer for one; but a very much worse Observer, I am certain; for had he not been an ill-looking-fellow, he might with half an eye have discerned, that I do not at all deliver mine own opinion in this particular, but what *many did then assert*; those are the very words; and that *many did so assert*, is without all dispute; but since the Observer will needs have it to be mine own judgement, it shall be so for once, and he have his saying. And what I pray doth he oppose against it? but [first, want of Logick, to inferre an identity or samenesse in the thing, from a Community of names, and proves it by St. Peter, who calls our Saviour Christ 1 Pet. 2. 25. the Bishop of our souls, and himself 1 Pet. verse 1. a Presbyter or Priest (as most unhand-somely our English reads it) an Elder, concluding from thence, that it were sorry Logick to make Christ, & every ordinary Bishop, and the Prince of the Apostles, and a simple Presbyter all one. I shall first take leave to observe his *Parentbeses*, before I passe further. Herein he hath a fling at our Translators, for rendring the word Presbyter, Elder; where's the unhand-somenesse of it? All Latine Expositors, and Greek Lexicons, translate πρεσβύτερος senior; and I believe it will puzzle the Observer, to find any one who ever interpreted senior by Priest; and why, I would gladly know, is it more unhand-some in our Translators, then it was in Dr. Heilen (from whom the Observer differs vastly in this particular) who tells us, that the ancient Fathers called the Minister

*Antidot.
Lincoln. E-
dit. 2. p. 157.*

nister of the *Sacrament of the Altar* sometimes *Presbyter, Elder*, and sometimes *Sacerdos, Priest*: a thing so universally received amongst us, as you shall very rarely finde the word *Presbyter* turned into *Priest*, and never *Sacerdos* into *Elder*; now it being so rare to finde *Presbyter* otherwise rendred then by *Elder*, a vulgar translation should be accommodated to vulgar apprehensions; for a modern Poet, and a wit every inch of him, gives us this golden Rule,

Return old vertues, but forbear
New words not fitted to the Ear.

But now *ad rem*, and to the mans arguments, which is nothing *ad rem*, and clear besides the cushion, a meer shift and no more; for doth any man doubt that the thesis is limited to Gospel-persons initiated into sacred orders, beneath the Apostles, and above Deacons? Let him or any men else, tell me where such persons in Holy Text are really distinguished, that is, where *Presbyters* import not *Bishops*, and *Bishops Presbyters*, and then he shall be confest to speak to purpose, to much better purpose then the Observer, who produceth the order of the late Church of England in the ordaining of *Bishops*, when we talk of those whom Holy Text calls *Bishops*, not what they were in succeeding times, or are in our Church: And thus I have knockt down *Episcopacy*, saith the Observer, with a painted club: Dead as a door-nail no doubt, yet really not so much as touched I dare say for it; I am sure *Episcopacy*, I mean *Episcopacy* by *Divine Right*, may live many a fair day after it, notwithstanding that assertion, the other 1300. years, as it hath done already (for so long it is since *St. Hieromes* time, whose opinion all men know it was *in terminis*) and yet for all that, by the leave of *Smectymnus*, he as great a friend to *Episcopacy* as any other *Father*; and not more then my self. That there was in the Apostolique Church, a *Prelacy*, a *Superiority* instituted, of some one (no matter how denominated) over other *Presbyters*, within some certain walks and precincts; that this *Superiority* was appointed by the very *Apostles*, to be exemplary, and to give law to succeeding times, I do as little doubt, and think it as demonstrable out of Scripture as any thing whatsoever not fundamental. That the persons selected for so high a function, should be men of the most eminent quality for piety and learning, there is all the reason in the world; and if such a choyce be once made, as *de facto* in some it now is, judge others what they please, I shall account them meriting the greatest Reverence and honour (taken in the most Advantageous

tagious sense, either for dignity or maintenance, that any subjects are capable of. Soules of the most noble size must have elbow-room, they cannot exercise their activity in an angust and narrow Sphere. The internal Grandour of the mind, may perhaps exist; visible, conspicuous it cannot be, without external Grandour of Estate. Again, the entries and advenues to advancement, are free and open to *Professors* under-graduates to the *Sacred*; why then shall this be excluded? If Merit be all-sufficient to entitle it possessor to Preferment; what Merit greater then what is resident in persons of Holy Orders? To defraud others of their due Rewards, can at worst be but injustice; to rob these differeth nothing from *Sacrilege*. This is my sense of Episcopacy; enough, I hope, to satisfie spirits of the most modest and sober temper; and for others, they are beneath my consideration. This done, I shall jog on to attend the Observators next motion.

Page 186.

Fol. *Ibid.* Such a prejudice there was against them, and the truth contended for lay then so deep as few had perspicacity enough to discern it.] Observator: Though some men blind with prejudice, had not the perspicacity of discerning Truth, yet some others had; yet for the opening of the eyes, as well of men willing to be informed, as wilfully blinded, no sooner had the *Smeectymnians* revived the Controversie, but presently the Divine Right of Episcopacy was maintained and published by Dr. Hall, then Bishop of Exeter, &c.

Answer. Though these observations little touch my *Free-hold*; yet I shall take a superficial view of his Authors. D. Hall, the most Reverend and Holy Bp. of Exeter, leads the Van; next comes *Churchman*, but whether *Goodman*, Worshipful, right Worshipful, Honorable, right Honorable, right Reverend *Churchman*, he tells us not: There is indeed such an Author extant, but what's in him? really, nothing but what he hath stolen from Archb. *Whitgift*, Bp. *Bilson*, Bp. *Hall*, and others, and is worn as thredbare a this Observators coat: Then he goes on to Dr. *Taylor*, and Dr. *Hammond*, these all of a cloth, and but *Churchman*, good men and true. Next, he proceeds to Lay-Champions, Sir *Thomas Aston*, Mr. *Theyr*, the Lord *Falkland*, and in the tag-end of all, would you think it? learned Mr. *Selden*, not totally against *Bishops*. But verily the man did not consult Mr. *Selden* when he wrote this; for certain I am, that in his *de Synedris* page 423. he seems clear of another mind, extolling *Salmasius*, and *Walo-Messalinus*, a note above *Ela*, for their paines in the Argument of Ecclesiastical

fiastical Order; though I professe I see little solid in either. Before I leave the Observator, I cannot but take notice, that I misse amongst his Assertors for *Episcopacy*, one, who though he is *No-body* with the *Observator*, is *Some-body* with all men else, and that is King *Charles*, the Chief *ὀπισθοδρομικὸς* of that Cause; who did not only take up the Bucklers in good earnest, but the pen also to defend it; and by the last did so gallantly acquit himselfe of his opponents, so solidly, so perspicuously refute them, as *Smectymnus*, & *qui smectymnuuntur ab illis*, and all their adherents will never be able to make head against it again.

Page 189.

Fol. Ibid. *It was of so mysterious import, as the very Imposers, much lesse the Jurors, could not decipher what it meant, &c.* Observator. *I find by this that our Author hath spoken with very few of the Convocation.*

Answer. Were not malice *δουλοβυσία* τι, such a brutish and an ill-reasoning thing, (as *Gregory Nazianzen* calls it) sure the *Observator* might have easily discovered, that these faults imputed to the Canon, are not delivered as of mine owne suggestion, but contrived by others: If any doubt of this, he may consult the Lord *Dybbies* Speech Novemb. 12. 1640. the Exceptions taken against this oath by the Counties of *Northamptonshire*, of *Kent*, more especially those of *Devonshire*, framed at the Summer Assizes there 1640. formed by the Earle of *Bath*, and most of the Gentry and Clergy; and Septemb. the 16. presented with a Petition to the Lords of the Privy Council; in every one of which he shall find almost every objection here mention'd, and in all many more.

Page 191.

Fol. Ibid. *To exact an Oath of dissent from Civil Establishments in such things of indifferency, was an affront to the very fundamentals of Government.* Observator. *Our Author taking it for granted, that the Government of the Church by Bishops is a thing of indifferency, is much aggrieved that the Clergy should binde themselves by Oath not to consent to any alteration of it.*

Answer. *Quousq; abuteris patientiâ nostrâ?* How doth this *Observator* provoke us? Verily Reader, we must be at the charge of a Remembrancer for him. He is at his Author againe; when his Author quoteth others words: And what saith his Author? *That the Government of the Church by Bishops is a thing of indifferency*; Really this Senior Sophister hath no aym in his hand, be the Author who he will, certainly

tainly he declares no such matter; his words are, *Some things were expressly to be sworn to which were never thought, to have any shew or colour of Sacred Right, but were conceived arbitrary and things of indifferency, &c.* Now these some things do not signify and expressly point out Episcopacy, but clearly exclude it, for they are said to be such things as never had any shew or colour of sacred Right; but Episcopacy, in the very account of its adversaries, hath some colour and shew of it. And to put the matter out of all dispute, this Objection was the Lord Digbyes, who was a firm friend of Episcopacy, as my History renders him. So then, these some things mention'd in the Objection, will be soon decipher'd by Arch-Bishops, Arch-Deacons, Deans, &c. as the Northamptonshire and Kent Exceptions say expressly.

Page 196.

Fol. 186. *No Convocation having power to grant any Subsidies or ayd without consent of the Parliament.* Observer. I must let our Author (and all who shall read him) know that never was any rule more false, nor more weakly grounded.

Answer. Spoken Magisterially enough. What, never any rule more false? How comes it then to passe, that so many Wise and Learned Men in this Parliament should be transported into a different Judgment? Nor is the Rule more false then weakly grounded, if we believe the Observer; truly by his leave there is ground enough to bear that Rule, or wiser men then either he, or I, are mistaken. For doth not the Convocation constantly most humbly pray and desire their Grants and Subsidies may be confirmed and ratified by the High Court of Parliament? Are not their Subsidies alwayes in the Statute-books assigned a particular chapter beginning thus, *A Confirmation of a Subsidy, &c. granted by the clergy?* Now I would gladly learn of the Observer, if the Convocation be all-sufficient of it selfe to grant Subsidies, why is the Parliaments Ratification sought for, which must signify either all or nothing?

Page 215.

Fol. 202. *And on the 18th he was voted guilty of High Treason.* Observer. Our Author may please to know, that on Wednesday, December the 16. a Committee was appointed to draw up against him (the Arch-Bishop) and the same day, not on the 17th, he was named an Incendiary by the Scots; no complaint coming from them on the Thursday.

Answer. The Observer may be displeased to know that in this particular he is as arrant an Errant as ever was.

Next

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The

The Journals, had he searcht them, would have told him, that [on Thursday Decemb. the 17th. there was a conference between the two Houses: At that meeting the Lord Paget read the Scotch Charge against the Lieutenant of Ireland and the Archbishop. It was many sheets of paper close written, and in folio, &c.] So that here is a complaint from the Scots against the Archbishop, and in this charge the Archbishop was named an incendiary.

Page 217.

Observer. I remember that congratulating him (the Bishop of Lincoln) for the high esteem which he had in both Houses of Parliament, &c.

Answer. By this, and what follows, I perceive this Observer had some Intimacy with this Bishop at this time. Now, gentle Reader, if thou lovest me, beg his resolution in this one Question; if I do not wrong those credible persons who informed me, to call it a Question. I have been told that Doctor Heylin (I will not say a party to these premisses) who all the world knows most insolently trampled and insulted upon this Bishop when he was down; no sooner heard of his enlargement, but instantly he came creeping, and cringing, and stawling, and crouching to him so servilely, as made his Lordship merry at the uncouth sight; and all this to stand his friend, or at least not appear his foe at that time, when that Doctor was in a most sorry plight. Now I would gladly know of this Observer, was it so, or no?

Page 221.

Observer. I have some reason to believe that the Clergy of that Convocation did not appear there by their Council learned, sufficiently authorized and instructed to advocate for them.

Answer. How their Council were instructed I will not determine; sure I am by their Council they did appear, first, by Mr. Chadwel of Lincolnes Inne, November the 26th. then again by Mr. Holborn this 15th. of Decemb. who argued two hours in defence of them.

Page 224.

Fol. 219. The Bishops were excluded by ancient Canon-Laws of the Council of Toledo to be assistant in cause of Blood or Death. Observer. That they were disabled from being assistant in such Cases, I believe our Author cannot prove.

Answer. Let the fourth Canon speak for me and it self in this point. [*Siquis Sacerdosque discors in alienis periculis extiterit, apud Ecclesiam propriam perdat Gradum.*] If any Priest shall

shall intermeddle in cases endangering the life of others, let him be degraded.

Page 235.

Fol. 256. *They pasted upon the gate of Westminster a Catalogue of all such whose suffrages were for the Earls acquittal, under the stile of Straffordians.]* Observer. *This paper was not pasted upon the gate of Westminster, but on the corner of the wall of Sir William Brunkards house.*

Answer. Several and various are the Reports concerning this paper; some agreeing with the *Observer*; some relating it to be pasted on the head of an hoghead. What I conceived most probable, and was most generally received, I fixt upon, not undertaking to warrant the circumstance, but the thing.

Page 238.

Fol. *ibid.* *The Protestation formed, was the next day read in the lower House, and generally taken by all the Members.]* Observer. *Our Author is here out, as in that before; the Protestation not being taken the next day after, but on the very same day it was framed.*

Answer. If his Author was no more out in that before, then in this, he is in still I dare warrant him: For the Protestation being debated on the third of May, the ordering and framing thereof kept the House all that day till late at night. So the Journals of that week, which also present us with the reading, and taking thereof the next day by the whole House.

Page 240.

Fol. 257. *In this perplexity of thoughts he consults with four Bishops.]* Observer. *Not sent for by himselfe, but sent to him by the Houses of Parliament. The Persons sent on this imployment, were the Primate of Armagh, the Bishops of Lincoln, Durham, and Carlile. Of which, the two last being men unskill'd in politick Affaires, depended wholly on the judgement of the other two; and those carried a sharp tooth against the Lord Lieutenant upon former grudges. The displeasure which the Primate had conceived against him, was for the abrogating of the Articles of Religion established in the Church of Ireland, and setting in their place the Articles of the Church of England, Anno 1633.*

Answer. Was ever man so shamefully out, as this *Observer* is here? out of the Story beyond all measure, and out of charity beyond all Religion. First these Bishops were not sent by the *Parliament* to the King, but sent for by Him.

The Observer Observed.

Secondly, they were five, not four. Thirdly, if any of them depended upon the judgement of the others, it was the Bishop of *London*, who at the last meeting and consultation spake not one syllable. As for the Bishops of *Durham* and *Carlile*, they spake as freely as any other, insomuch as the King faulted one of their Syllogismes, because it had in it four terms. Fourthly, the Lord *Primate* had no sharp tooth against the Lieutenant, as the *Observer* or *Malice* it self suggests; a calumny so absurd, as nothing but the sin thereof can defend it from being ridiculous, not a syllable relating to it being true; for, First the Articles of Religion established in the Church of *Ireland* were never abrogated, as is evidenced by this Certificate.

We who were present at, and Members of the Convocation holden at Dublin Anno Domini 1634. doe hereby certifie, that upon the proposal of the first Canon, wherein, for the manifestation of our agreement with the Church of England in the confession of the same Christian faith, and doctrine of the Sacraments (as was then expressed) we did receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon in the Convocation holden at London in the year 1562. One of the Assembly stood up and desired that the other Book of Articles agreed upon in the Convocation holden at Dublin in the year 1613. should be joyned therewith: Unto whom it was then answered, that this addition was altogether needless, that Book having Been already sufficiently ratified by the Decree of the former Synod. But that the least motion was then or there made for the suppressing of those Articles of Ireland, hath no truth all in it; And therefore the Observer, and whosoever else hath, or doth averr that the said Articles either were abolished, or any motion made for the suppressing or abolishing of them, are grossly mistaken, and have abused the said Convocation, in delivering so manifest an untruth. March 18. 1655.

Wil. Bernard.

Samuel Pulein.

Now the Foundation failing, the superstructed grudge must needs fall also. Again, that there was not between the Lord *Primate* and the *Earl* any the least umbrage of discontent; that all was most amicable, most friendly between them, is further so likely, as it is almost demonstrable. For before his final Sentence, the Lieutenant did from time to time, both at the *Black-Rod*, and in the *Tower*, advise with the *Primate* concerning his Answer to his Charge. For after Sentence, he desired and obtained of the *Parliament*, that the

the *Primate* might be sent to him to serve him with his Ministerial Office in his last and fatal extremity; he cheerfully entertained his spiritual instructions, he prayed with him, sent Messages to the King by him, took him by the hand and led him along with him to the Scaffold: All which sure he would never have done, had he taken notice, or but suspected such a grudge *levant* and *couchant* in the *Primates* breast. Fifthly, whereas this *Trifler* deriveth this forged grudge from this occasion [because, saith he, *Dr. Brambil*, once the *Lieutenants* Chaplain, and then Bishop of *Derry*, had appeared most in Abrogation of those Articles] I must tell the man that there was never any controversy in that Synod between the Lord *Primate* and that *Bishop* concerning those Articles: About the Reception of the English Ecclesiastical Canons, some disagreement there was indeed, the Bishop of *Derry* moving they might be there admitted intirely, which the Lord *Primate* opposed as prejudicial to the liberty of the *Irish* Church, and prevailed that only some selected Canons of the *English* Church should be received with the addition of others of that *Synods* framing, which was done accordingly. Sixthly, whereas the *Observer* placeth the Synod of *Ireland* in *Anno 1633*. his *alter idem* *Dr. Heylins* History of the Sabbath, part 2d. page 259. could have told him it was in 1634. Lastly, whereas this *Observer* demands an account of our thoughts whether [the King was likely to be well informed in his Conscience, when men so interested were designed to the managing and preparing of it?] I can assure him that the Bishops only sent him to the resolution of his own judgement for *matter of fact*, and to the opinions of the Judges for *matter of Law*; and that the restless and insatiable scruple which so discomposed his Majesties Conscience was this; That notwithstanding he most earnestly pressed the Judges to declare the particular Article of the *Earls* charge, which (if proved) was Treason by an expresse Law of the Land, he could not extort from them one single instance, nor any thing else, but that the *Earl* was guilty upon the whole matter, which he thought was too confused a general, upon which to shed the blood of one of the basest, much more of the Noblest Orb.

Thus have I finished my Animadversions upon the *Observers* Matter. I should next proceed to his Alphabetical Table, or Vocabulary of my uncouth words, which really is the Comical part of his Tragedies against me, and it were pity to lose so much mirth. I shall therefore in lieu of that Alphabet present the Reader with a Catalogue, first of mine own, and then of his mistakes, with some things of

of remark resulting from them both ; and first for mine own.

Fol. 6. *In King James his interment, May the 4th. is put for the 7th.*

Ibid. *Concerning the Marriage of the Queen, May the 8th for the first.*

Fol. 20. *Dr. Laud Bishop of Bath and Wells, for Bishop of St. Davids.*

Fol. 71. *Archbishop Abbot his Keeper for the Lord Zouch his.*

Fol. 129. *Guild-Hall for Alderman Freemans house.*

Fol. 131. *All Counties for all Port Towns within the Realm.*

Fol. 136. *Earl of Norhumberland for the Earl of Lindsey.*

Fol. 184. *Arch-Bishop Whitgift mistaken one remove.*

Other things as errors there are, I confesse, charged upon me by the Observator ; but some are dubious, and no *constat* they are errors. Some are infallibly demonstrated to be no errors, and the rest that are errors are none of mine. Of mine, these are a true and perfect account ; and how far these comply for quality and number with what I pretend to in my Preface, I shall now examine. My words in that Preface are [*Confident I am I stand secure against substantial falshoods*] Dares the Observator (though he as daring as another) say any one of these *falshoods* are *substantial*, so as their rectification will destroy the frame of the Narrative to which they relate? I presume he will not. Circumstantial they are every one; and against circumstantial, though I durst not assume confidence, yet I *hoped* I stood secure also. And now how that hope hath failed me, shall be my next enquiry. The total of my lapses and slips amount to eight ; no more, if I have faithfully collected them, as I hope I have, and did really so intend ; but lest one or two should be casually omitted, I allow them to be 10. And being so, I appeal to thy ingenuous candor, gentle Reader, first, whether in describing of at least a thousand circumstances, it be not a greater miracle that I mistook in but 10, then that I erred so many. Secondly, whether 10. errors in such circumstances, wherein the fame of no one man, the interest of no one cause, is either damnify'd, or advantaged, be ground sufficient for so much clamour, so loud outcry, as would gladly raise the Country, yea the whole Nation against me. Lastly, whether it would not have represented the Observator to be a man of more Christian, yea Moral Principles, had he *viva voce*, by conference, or by letters hinted to me these mistakes, as fit considerations for a second impression. In-
deed

de ed the last is needlesse, he having so fair and frequent opportunities of doing the first: True it is, acquaintance there is none between us, if acquaintance be taken for familiarity; but acquainted with my person he is, and I with his, so well, as he knows me perfectly without a *Nomenclator*.

How can it be otherwise conjectured? when the truth is, we have met in *London* at the same shop, I may safely say neer an hundred times; and to speak more close to the point, not lesse then ten times, not only after the publication of my History; but after he had, to my knowledge, perused it, and before he had entred one line of his Observations into the Presse. All which do evidently declare, that it was not my information, but a dear and precious quarrel he desired.

Having given you this particular of mine own failings, I proceed to those of the Observer himself, which I have not only said, but proved to be Errours.

Page 64. Denying the paper found in Feltons hat.

Page 7. Concerning Peter Baro, and the Margarets Professorship. 3.

Page 86. Saying, Standing at Gloria Patri was never obstructed.

Page 114. Concerning the Sabbath 2.

Page 122. Concerning the setting forth of the Ships.

Page 176. Sir Edward Dering for the 2. Digby.

Page 215. Archbishop of Canterbury voted an Incendiary Decemb. the 16th. for the 17.

Page 238. Concerning the taking of the Protestation.

Page 240. Concerning the Bishops sent to the King, the Primate, and the Irish Articles. 6.

The total whereof is 18. in 17 printed sheets; almost two for one escaped from me in 70. which yet were dispensable in any man, were they but circumstantiall, as mine, but when one of them tends to the very destruction of sacred worship, as that of the Sabbath 3. and another to the defamiation of one of the most glorious Lights of our Church. These are unpardonable faults; were not both the sufferers thereby above his obloquy. In this Catalogue I have forbore such mistakes as relate immediately to myself. I have not minded him of his most notorious corrupting and falsifying my *Preface*; nor of his wilfull mistaking other words for mine, which cost him a fixt part of his Pamphlet; nor yet his detorting & wresting mine owne words to his sense, against their naturall mind and inclination. Things counter to the ingenuity he so pretends to in his Epistle made to me, to the ancient mode of simplicity, to which I will he would conform

conform hereafter : Therefore, gentle Reader, when thou see'st him next, after my hearty commendations, present him from me with his *Distich* again a little vary'd.

*Use thou old vertues, I shall forbear
New words not fitted to the ear.*

Addenda to the Observator Observed.

PAge 6. l. 8. After the end of the Paragraph. But if any demand what made King James so stout an adversary of the *Arminians*, the Observator hath an answer ready minted, an exceeding good one I assure you, and for which the *Arminians* have reason to thank him : *Reason of State*, he saith, *it was, and King-Craft* : how so ? because [the *Arminians* were united into a party under the command and countenance of *Olden-Barnevelt*, and by him used to undermine the power of *Maurice* then Prince of *Orange*] so then by the Observators own inference, *Reason of State* and *King-Craft* will not tolerate the *Arminians* in a Commonwealth ; and if so, they well deserved the name of a Faction, as he page 73. most aptly stileth them, as men having as strong a tang of the *Jesuites* in *Practical*, as *Dogmatical* concernments ; and indeed a *Faction*, a turbulent, seditious *Faction*, the united Provinces found them all along from the first of their spawning there ; more especially in that wicked conspiracy of *Barnevelt* who suffered most condignly upon that very account 1619, and in no less damnable and hellish plot, about three years after, wherein the States sitting in Council at the *Hague*, and after them all other *anti-Arminian* Magistrates were destined to slaughter ; but this plot aborting and miscarrying, the next was to murder the Prince of *Orange*, to seise upon the Magazines, to displace all Officers both martial and civil, and commit an horrid Massacre upon all of different belief ; all which was by a blessed providence discovered and prevented, four of the principal conspirators hanged, and the rest some imprison'd, others banisht. This was the department of the Observators *Faction* in the Netherlands, an argument they are none of the best Subjects, be their Doctrine as Orthodox as they pretend.

Page 10. l. Penult. At this mark * But seeing the Observator so disliketh this impulsive of Irregularity, I will take it again

again & by exchange afford him another for it, which though not so publicly declared, yet was by knowing men in those affairs beheld as the real and genuine cause of this Commission, and that was the Archbishops refusal to license *Dr. Sibthorp's* Book. But be the impulsive to it what it will, sure I am *Sr. Henry Martin* told the Bishops they would incur a *premunire* did they act by this Commission, and that Legally the Commission which should impower them ought to proceed from the *Archbishop*, not from the King: to whose advice the Bishops did so far listen as they superledded and forbore to act untill a while after they obtained leave and Commission from the Archbishop.

FINIS.

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Si nisi non esset per se totus qui esset esset
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